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Tributes

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Tributes to

Abraham Lincoln

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources providing testimonials lauding the 16th President of the United States

Surnames beginning with

Wi-Wil

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

71.2009.085 02138

Wickersham,

Extract

4-24-30

THEORIES AND FACTS

Discussion of the theory of government is always interesting, even though it may have little practical result. It is interesting to note a contrast between the government theory expressed by Mr. George W. Wickersham, in his comments upon prohibition, and that maintained by Mr. Abraham Lincoln as President. Mr. Wickersham makes a point against abetting violation of a law on the ground that it should not have been enacted, saying that such a course is "inviting revolution and anarchy." He admits that it is all right to work for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

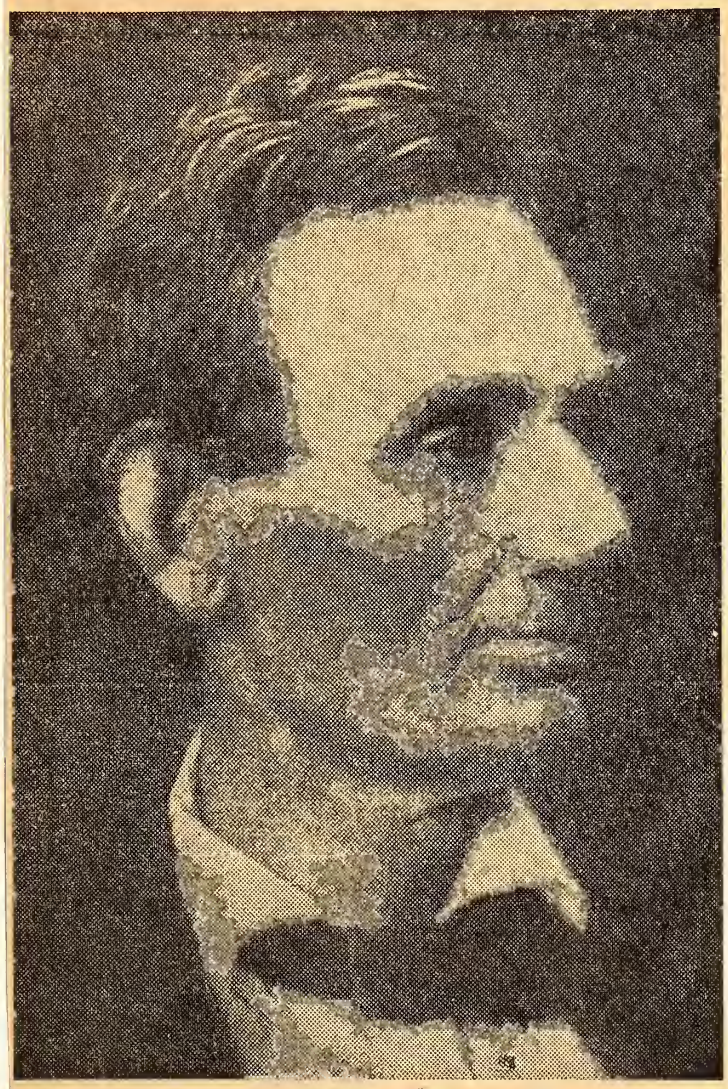
Mr. Lincoln seemed to think that all Americans would agree with him when he said, seventy years ago, that "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

Probably that is what all Americans did think at that time, less than ninety years after the Declaration of Independence. To-day, revolutionary rights are not held in such deference. Mr. Wickersham seems to deny that there are any such things. But however much anyone might agree with him as to that, everybody ought to agree that there is no sense in denouncing "abetting" violation of a statute unless the statute itself forbids abetting its violation. Of course a person who violates the Volstead Act commits a crime; but nowhere does the Volstead Act say that abetting its violation is a crime.

Neither is there any statute that says buying intoxicating liquor shall be subjected to the penalties provided for inviting revolution and anarchy. Let the theorists expound their theories as they please, but when they discuss penal statutes let them stick closely to the facts.

Wiggins, James Russell

Abe Lincoln Wove Constant Pattern



This picture of Lincoln, apparently a copy of the Alexander Hesler photograph, was restored by Henri G. Courtais, New York artist, from a print that was almost unrecognizable from age. The Hesler portrait was made during Lincoln's first presidential campaign, when he was 51, and is one of the last to show him without a beard. It is now in the F. H. Meserve Collection

By James Russell Wiggins

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S universality derives both from the universal wisdom with which he dealt with his problems and from the universal character of these problems themselves. So it is with most of history's immortals.

Statesmen of equal greatness may bring to problems peculiar to their time alone a comparable measure of genius without acquiring a legend that causes men, generations later, to return to their records for light on contemporary affairs.

This aspect of Lincoln is evident on each anniversay of his birth. He remains a living force in American society, and in the world, partly because he so frequently dealt with imperishable issues that reappear in new dress in new decades.

Time is so important an element that it is dangerous to transplant the wisdom of a statesman in fields outside the century fences of his being. It is an experiment, however, that is so fascinating that no amateur can resist it, no matter how many wilted vines attest the hazards. The wisdom of Lincoln is the object of much such historical uprooting and transplantation.

Similar Problems

LINCOLN WOULD find this generation no better prepared than his to solve the unanswered conundrum of government that he voiced in his congressional message of 1861:

"Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

The problems of trying to make sure of men's loyalty to their government were as much a part of Lincoln's time as they are of our own.

It was also his task to deal with military leaders who had political potential. Perhaps General Eisenhower, when he put aside political ambition, was not unmindful of the bad example of General McClellan. If Lincoln could step onto the scene, how he would envy President Truman his good fortune in military commanders.

Lincoln was no stranger to the problems of organized labor in an industrial society. At New Haven, in 1860, during the New England shoe strike, he said:

"I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down and obliged to labor whether you pay them or not. I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere."

His Party 'Mixed'

THERE IS A Marxian ring to this sentence out of Lincoln's address to the Workingman's Association of New York in 1864:

"The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds."

If this sounds like a trumpet in the class struggle, it should be read with another excerpt from this same speech:

"Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise."

Present-day Republicans may feel that the party is mixed and divided on many issues. Lincoln had plenty of experience with a mixed and divided Republican host. This descriptive paragraph is from T. Harry Williams' "Lincoln and the Radicals:"

"No polyglot army of an ancient emperor ever exhibited more variety than did the Republican party of 1860. Within its diverse ranks were radicals and abolitionists who wanted to destroy every vestige of slavery, moderates who had been content to restrict its expansion into the territories, Whigs, Free-Soilers, and anti-slavery Democrats, Eastern manufactures who hoped for a protective tariff and Western farmers who favored free trade, hardened machine politicians and visionary reformers."

Sectionalism

THE great struggle over slavery, it is too painfully clear in these days, was not ended in Lincoln's time, nor was it solely an issue of human servitude. How remarkably persistent are the racial problems of which slavery was one aspect! The dilemma of racial inequality in a society professing the equality of man turns out to be one of the American problems universal in time. The civil rights reports and presidential messages of 1948 make this clear.

And how persistent are the problems of violent sectionalism with which President Lincoln had to deal! It would amaze the Civil War War President to read today's newspapers and learn of Southern Congressman grumbling about civil rights messages; of a Southern insurrection in the Democratic Party; of calls for a conference of Southern Governors.

These things, to be sure, are only the vestigial remnants of the old disease. They serve to show how hardy the issues out of which the old sectionalism developed.

Even problems of administrative nature seem to enjoy some kind of immortality. The difficulties of divided military command confronted Lincoln with some of his most troublesome problems just as they have other Presi-

See LINCOLN, Page 6, Col. 1.

dents since Lincoln. In spite of the new organization of the defense establishment, it is unhappily safe to assume that these administrative tangles are not at an end. The harrowing experience of the Civil War President with such trials makes even Pearl Harbor seem a shadow of the sixties.

Divided Command

IT IS JUST barely possible that the Civil War itself might have been avoided but for confused and divided military command. It was the strategy of President Lincoln and of Secretary of State Seward to avoid any overt act that might lead to force while the Government struggled to heal the breach with the seceding States.

Yet, the Administration felt the necessity of maintaining in the South a symbol of Federal authority. It was this consideration that gave importance to the maintenance of the garrison at Fort Sumter. It shocked the new President to discover that this fort would have to be reinforced and supplied or abandoned at an early date. He had hoped for a longer breathing spell. Then it was proposed that Fort Pickens, in Florida, might be a suitable symbol of Federal authority.

It was at once decided to reinforce Fort Pickens and to abandon Sumter if necessary. On March 12, 1861, General Scott sent a message to Captain Vosgdes, who had a small force aboard the Sabine in Pensacola Harbor, to land his company as a garrison for Fort Pickens.

On April 6, the Government got word that the naval officer commanding the Sabine refused to follow Army orders and put the troops ashore because he was under Navy Department instructions to respect a truce ordered by President Buchanan. This forced the Government to drop the strategy of abandoning Sumter and offsetting the evacuation by occupying Pickens. The troops were still aboard the Sabine when the supply of Sumter was attempted and the Civil War thereby started.

The orders of a Secretary of Defense might have obviated this conflict of instructions.

That it will not necessarily prevent all misunderstanding of the kind is suggested by another aspect of the Fort Sumter case. At one stage of planning, the Administration proposed to send to Fort Pickens the U. S. S. Powhatan under command of Lieut. David D. Porter. The ship left the Brooklyn Navy Yard under sealed presidential orders, secret from even the Secretary of Navy.

After it had left, President Lincoln learned that Secretary of the Navy Welles had planned to use the same ship as the flagship of the naval force prepared for the relief of Sumter. Thereupon Secretary Seward, on Lincoln's order, sent a fast tug to overtake the ship and give to Lieutenant Porter Seward's orders to return the Powhatan. Porter declined to act on the orders, asserting that he was on a mission dispatched by the President and could not accede to the wishes of the Secretary of State. He sailed on to Fort Pickens and the troops were thrown into the fort on April 16. Sumter had already been fired upon and the occupation of Pickens was without the great importance initially intended.

Durable Government

THE unchanging nature of such problems of government may inspire some discouraging reflection on the slow progress of human society; but it also furnishes comforting conjecture on the indestructibility of government capable of surviving the repetitions of error.

Presidential immortals, it is clear, not only deal well with the problems that arise in their administrations. Their immortality in part depends on how many of their problems are those that recur again and again to give to their judgments and decisions a strangely contemporaneous quality, generation after generation.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Sunday, February 8, 1948
3B

Wilbur, Curtis D.

RUARY 13, 1928.

WILBUR PRAISES LINCOLN'S SPIRIT

Saved Brotherly Feelings of North and South, He Says.

Washington, D. C.

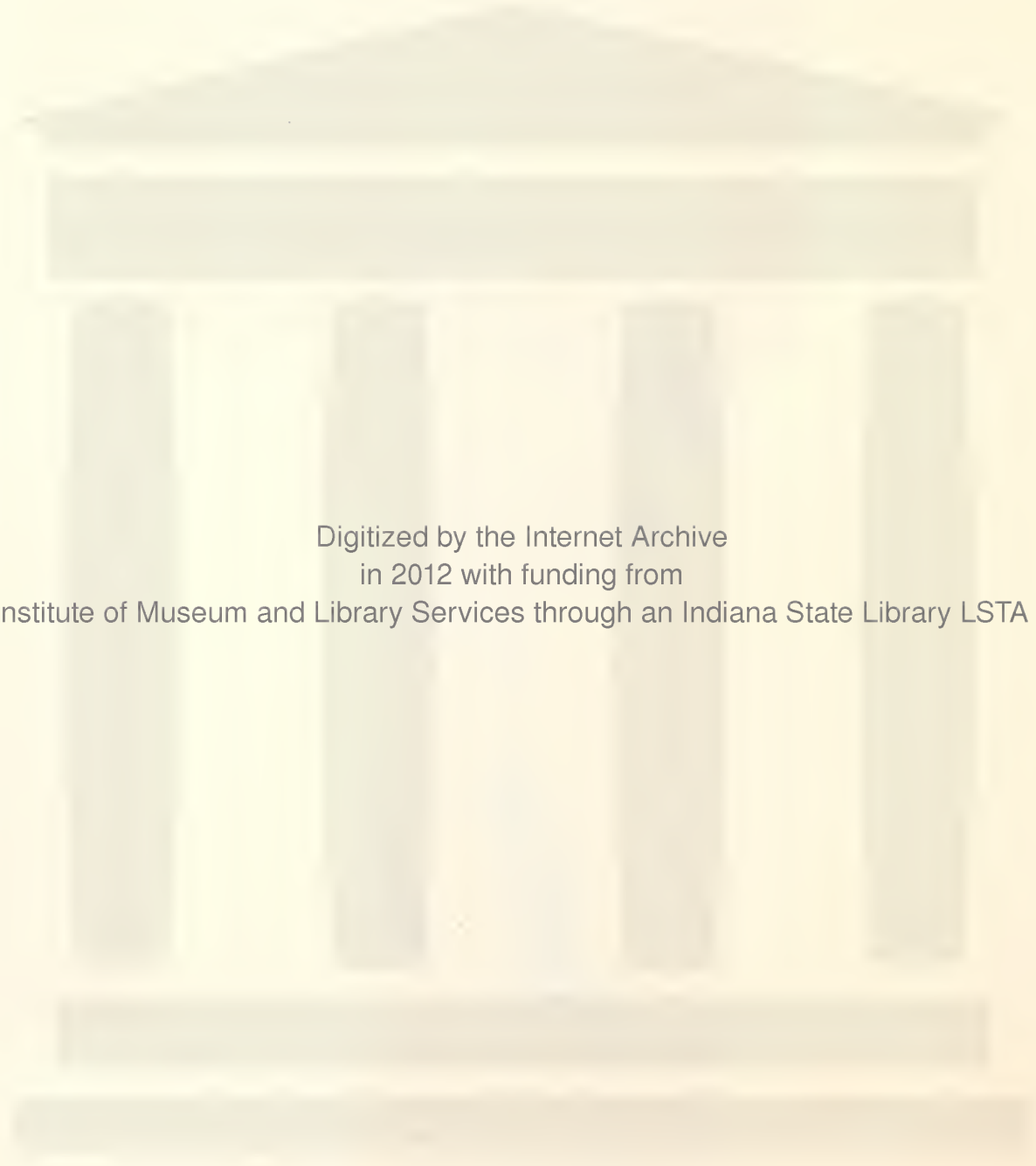
By the Associated Press.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., February 13.—Preservation of the Union by military intimidation might have been equally well engineered by Alexander the Great, Caesar or Napoleon, but it remained for Abraham Lincoln to maintain the Nation intact and yet perpetuate spiritual union, Curtis D. Wilbur, Secretary of the Navy, told a memorial mass meeting last night.

"He reserved, fortified and maintained the spiritual union of the people of this Nation," Secretary Wilbur said. "He never thought of the seceding States as out of the Union. He thought of the soldiers in the army of the South as citizens of the Union, to be restored and recovered to brotherhood and citizenship. He did not hate them; he did not desire them ill-fortune.

"When those who had fought in the armies of both North and South saw each other rallying to the call of war with the Cuban outbreak in 1898, they realized that their struggle had not been in vain; that a real Union had been effected And, when still later, in 1917, men from North and South answered the call of duty, it was realized that American citizenship, definitely established for the first time in the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution as a result of the Civil War, had found its full fruition

"Lincoln gives to this generation of Americans a philosophy of life," he said, "still living in their hearts, something which is still active in legislative halls, in judicial chambers, and executive offices; something that steels the arm of the soldier and the sailor for conflict; something which helped win the World War, and which will help us in all future wars. In this aspect, Lincoln is no mere historical figure. He is a vital force, operating in the hearts of all who believe in his acts of life."



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http://archive.org/details/tributestoabrahawewillinc

Wilbur, Curtis D.

Lincoln Still Lives In Hearts Of All Americans, Secretary Wilbur Says

St Journal 2-13-28

Abraham Lincoln, whose memory is revered by all nations, was paid tribute, international in its aspects, last night at the state arsenal as distinguished government officials of two nations addressed an audience that taxed the seating capacity of the building.

Hon. Curtis D. Wilbur, secretary of the navy, addressed himself to the subject, "Abraham Lincoln—a Spiritual Inheritance," while His Excellency Senor Don Alejandro Padilla y Bell, ambassador of Spain to the United States, presented his conception of what Lincoln means to Europe and the world.

Climaxing two days of Springfield's observance of the one hundred and nineteenth anniversary of the Emancipator's birth, the gathering last night was sponsored by the Mid-Day Luncheon club, with State Superintendent of Public Instruction Francis G. Blair, president, introducing the speakers and presiding.

Earlier in the day the two honored visitors with Capt. G. F. Neal, U. S. navy, aid to Secretary Wilbur, visited the home of Lincoln and the courthouse and placed wreaths upon Lincoln's tomb. These wreaths were placed beside the floral tributes of others among the more than 1,200 registered visitors at the tomb yesterday. Special Lincoln programs occupied morning services yesterday in the city's churches and all congregations joined in the common gathering in the arsenal last night.

Today, in observance of the legal holiday, banks will be closed but all other business houses and offices in the city will be open as usual.

Lincoln's Influence.

Secretary Wilbur spoke of Lincoln's influence upon the country and the history of the world. Preservation of the Union, he declared, had made it possible for America to enter and terminate the World war.

"Lincoln's work is not done," he said. "He is not dead but he lives in the heart of every American. Lincoln lives in the Constitution of the United States.

"Leaders of the Allied powers, many of whom have stood at the tomb of Lincoln as we did today, in a large sense and in a true sense leaned on the faith of Abraham Lincoln and prayed to his God."

The secretary declared that after all the things to which this country owes its prosperity have been summed up, fundamentally, we owe that prosperity to a practical application of the principles of Lincoln, which recognize the value of the individual man, his right to that which he has earned by the sweat of his brow, and to the governmental and spiritual union he preserved and extended, which has opened to every man the market and opportunities of the American continent.

Spiritual Ideal.

Ambassador Padilla y Bell said, "In Europe Lincoln is known as the man who determined the destiny of the United States, as a man who had kept before him the spiritual ideal of the Union and did not waver from the right. By, and through, that spiritual ideal he stands before Europe today as the symbol of that common hope and inner consciousness, which is the heart of America's social philosophy."

Added to the vast throng which heard the exercises at the arsenal was a ra[illegible] audience to whom the program was broadcast over station WCBS, St. Nicholas hotel.

Following music by Stewart's orchestra the audience stood and sang the "Star Spangled Banner," after which Rt. Rev. Mgr. M. A. Tarrent said the invocation. Two numbers were sung by the Lincoln Anniversary chorus of more than 150 voices, under direction of H. O. Ferguson. Rev. T. B. Lugg, president of the Springfield Council of Churches, pronounced the benediction.

The American flag and the national emblem of Spain were suspended side by side and a picture of the Emancipator occupied an important place in the arsenal decorations. Jamming their way into the structure as soon as the doors were flung open the huge audience ended their half-hour visit, until the exercises were scheduled to start, with an ovation as the distinguished guests and the reception committee marched to the platform. A similar innovation was forthcoming when the audience stood in their places at the close of the service while the honored visitors made their exit.

Wilbur's Address.

"On this birthday anniversary of Lincoln, in the city he loved," Secretary Wilbur said, "it is for us to here dedicate ourselves to that for which Lincoln labored. It is for his countrymen to seek and to establish justice. It is for us to adore and revere and serve the just God Lincoln believed in and appealed to in his distress, for it is Lincoln's greatest service that he has shown us God, and proved for us the just and loving interest of the Creator in him.'

The secretary characterized Lincoln as one of the great American prophets who gives to us our great American conception of God. "To the Jew, to the Protestant, to the Catholic, to all Americans, Lincoln gives a conception of man's relation to God and of God's relation to man. Thus he gives to this generation of Americans a philosophy of life, still living in their hearts, something that which is still active in legislative halls, in judicial chambers, and executive offices; something that still steels the arm of the soldier and sailor for conflict; something which helped win the World war, and which will help us to win in all future wars."

A fundamental conception of Lincoln's that right would be triumphant was dwelt upon at some length by Secretary Wilbur, who pointed out that Lincoln himself had said during the Civil war that both the north and south were fighting for what they believed right.

"Lincoln did not believe that right would triumph of itself merely because it was right," the speaker said. "He was not a pacifist. He called for soldiers, guns, ammunition, and for more soldiers. He did not expect Grant nor Sherman to win battles merely because they were fighting for a righteous cause. But Lincoln did believe that God could not be so unjust as to condemn some men to slavery and to give others ownership in human beings."

Love of Lincoln.

Following up this thought, Secretary Wilbur stated that men who believe that wars always can be averted by compromise, by prayer, by peaceful resolution or by good will do not follow in the footsteps of Lincoln, who said that he had a vow registered in heaven to preserve and protect the Union, and in fulfilling that vow sought the favor of God as he gathered his forces to defend the Union.

Remarking on the lack of bitterness and hate in Lincoln's heart, Secretary Wilbur said that the man who has difficulty in interpreting the life of One who lived nearly 2,000 years ago will see in Lincoln a worthy example to follow throughout life. "If he follows in the footsteps of Lincoln, follows him in his fundamental trust, in his humility; in his honesty; in his love of man as man; he will find that he is walking along the trail taken by the prophets of old." the secretary added.

Then came one of the most striking assertions made during the course of Secretary Wilbur's tribute when he declared, "Lincoln's work is not done. He is not dead but he lives in the heart of every American. He is marching on with God in the hearts of men. He has a large part of America's spiritual inheritance, and he belongs to the present world as to all the ages to come."

Enlarging upon this theme it was shown how this spiritual inheritance comes to this generation from parents and grandparents and Lincoln's other contemporaries.

Spiritual Union Of U. S.

"Lincoln did more than preserve the union," Secretary Wilbur continued. Alexander the Great, Caesar, Napoleon,—each might have tied the union together by hooks of steel but Lincoln did more than this. He preserved, fortified and maintained the spiritual union of the people of this nation. He never thought of the seceding states as being out of the Union.

"At a meeting in Springfield to celebrate his election in November, 1860, he said, 'Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country and should dwell together in bonds of fraternal feelings.' "

In Secretary Wilbur's opinion, the Spanish-American war and the World war, that saw men rallying to the American standard from both the North and the South brought realization that a real union had been effected.

Ambassador Speaks.

Ambassador Padilla y Bell, during the course of his address, declared that Lincoln belongs to all nations.

"Lincoln's character, his passion for liberty, his achievements, his courage in the face of heartbreaking [illegible] make him not alone a [illegible]

Wiley, Hon. Alexander

or civilian life—is looking ahead to the time when our service men and women are welcomed home by a grateful Nation, to the security and peace of their own firesides. Everyone is agreed on the main objective—to deal justly and equitably with the demobilized veteran, to provide for the disabled and their families, to care for the survivors of those who gave their lives at the call of their country. The President has recommended a broad program of legislation to Congress. The veteran organizations have brought to bear their long experience and background, in the task of devising proper measures. Congress is moving promptly, and I think effectively, to bring into practical terms the best thinking in the country, in a field of legislation that transcends any party or class of our people.

As a United States Senator, and as one of millions of fathers throughout the country with boys in the armed forces, I have given special attention to the many letters which come to me from service men and women, and to suggestions that come through personal contacts with them. When all is said and done the chief aspirations of our boys can be summed up in these simple terms: They want, above all, an opportunity for a useful, gainful job under the free-enterprise system which they are fighting to defend. Such a job is beyond price; there is no real substitute for it. And the veterans expect the sympathetic help of the Nation in locating those jobs. Second, they want an opportunity to better themselves, through education, training, and retraining. And third, they want mustering-out pay and social insurance protection—as a matter of right, not charity—to safeguard the insurance rights they have already attained, and to provide adequate unemployment allowances until they can find steady jobs at steady, decent pay.

Our main reliance, for the full employment of returning veterans, rests with the initiative and capacity of the American businessman. Every encouragement and aid has and will be given by the people as a whole, through their Federal, State, and local governments. At the heart of the Federal help to the veteran in finding a job, is a vitally effective veteran employment service. This morning, I discussed with the Senate Finance Committee an important proposal I have just introduced, with the approval and fine cooperation of the American Legion. More than 10 years ago I was privileged to sponsor the law creating the present United States Employment Service, which provides for a veteran employment service. The new plan I have just introduced would create a Veteran Service Placement Board within the United States Employment Service. This Board would consist of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs as Chairman, the Director of the National Selective Service System, and the administrative head of the United States Employment Service. This Board would determine and have full responsibility for all matters of policy relating to the administration of the Veterans' Employment Service. In this way the policies of the Veterans' Employment Service are closely coordinated with the policies of the Veterans' Administration. At the same time all the job-finding facilities of the entire United States Employment Service are made available to every veteran throughout the land. By this new plan, we would place the full weight of the National Government behind a revitalized Veterans' Employment Service, under a single chain of command, to help place veterans in private employment in any part of the country.

Our fighting men and women are not standpatters, satisfied with returning to the status quo before the war. Most of them—like the pioneers in industry, agriculture, and the useful arts who built this country—aspire to improve their lot. They hope to have a chance for the education that was denied them before the war, or to resume the education which was stopped by their induction into the service. Many will want refresher courses in mechanical training or the professions from which they came. Many will want to utilize the new skills—professional or mechanical—which they have attained in the armed forces.

We owe these men and women every possible assistance and opportunity for attaining these goals. Furthermore, this educational aid will be of enormous value to the country as a whole, which is incurring a serious deficit in the number of technicians and trained professional persons. The longer the war lasts the greater will be this deficit. I am confident that Congress will enact suitable legislation along these lines to help train the leaders of the country in the years ahead. Such measures will give an opportunity for the best that democracy has to offer to those who were ready to fight and die for a land of opportunity.

After the veteran has exhausted his mustering-out pay or educational allowance and has utilized the veterans' placement service he may find himself without a job for a period of weeks or months. Such unemployment occurs for some men in some localities for varying periods, even in good times. The immediate period of post-war adjustment will not be normal. Industry will be converting to peacetime products. Thirty million veterans and civilian war workers—perhaps half the regular working forces of the country—will have to find their place again in peacetime production. The veteran, of course, has a qualified guaranty that he will get back his old job, but the guaranty will be ineffective for many, and many more will go in search of new and better jobs.

Only half the returning veterans are likely to have any rights or coverage under existing unemployment-insurance laws in the 48 States. Those who are covered are likely to find the benefits too small and the period of coverage inadequate. In my testimony this morning before the Senate Finance Committee I discussed remedial legislation on this question. The bill introduced last November by Senator GEORGE, Senator CLARK, and myself would provide a uniform national system of unemployment allowances for former members of the armed forces. The allowances would be $15 a week for a single man and as high as $25 a week for a married man with dependents. The allowances would be paid for as much as 52 weeks of unemployment, if the veteran requires that length of time to find a proper job suitable to his skill and temperament and the need of his family and locality. I believe this maximum of 52 weeks should be available for the entire 2-year period following mustering-out pay, as provided in the bill sponsored by the American Legion.

The legislation I have introduced contains the usual and proper safeguards against abuse, arbitrary quitting of work, and refusal to accept suitable work when offered. This is bona fide unemployment insurance; it is not a feather bed for the indolent.

In my judgment, this plan should operate without red tape or delay. The veteran would present his discharge certificate and claim to any one of the 1,500 full-time local offices of the United States Employment Service, or 1 of the additional 2,000 part-time offices. The administration would be so simplified that this local office could determine the amount of the benefits on the spot, without the necessity of sending papers for approval to other State, regional, or Federal offices.

The veterans' social-insurance legislation I have introduced also provides a paid-up credit in the old-age insurance fund of the Social Security Act for every month of military service. The amount of the payment would be on a uniform wage basis of $160 a month. This is necessary to protect the benefit rights of millions in the armed forces who are already covered by the Social Security Act. Indeed, in many cases already on record, the widow and survivors of a man killed in action have lost the right to benefit claims under the old-age and survivors insurance system now in effect. The bill would make good these lost claims for the survivors and put the veteran covered by the act in the same position as when he left his civilian job to put on the uniform of the Army, Navy, or Marines. The bill also provides the same paid-up benefit rights for millions of other servicemen who have never had this social-security coverage. This is done in order not to discriminate against them, and in the hope that, by future amendment of the law, they can be brought under its permanent protection.

There is not time tonight for me to discuss in detail other proper benefits being devised in congressional legislation—mustering-out pay; unemployment insurance for the merchant marine; increased allowances for the disabled and their dependents; better provisions for hospitals, training and retraining centers; Federal help toward home or farm ownership. All this and more is part of the cost of war. It is a cost which democracy perhaps bears more gladly than the cost of shot and shell. We pay it not out of gratitude alone, although our gratitude is unbounded. We pay it because this is a cost of building up rather than tearing down, a cost that looks to a better, happier future for the service men and women, and a more secure land in which all of us can fulfill our highest hopes.

Lincoln Day Address by Senator Wiley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 15 (legislative day of Monday, February 7), 1944

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a radio address on the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, delivered by me over Wisconsin radio stations, February 12, 1944.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Yesterday I saw Lincoln.
I stood reverently before him
Within the lighted walls in Washington.
There he sat, like one who would speak to the Nation.
With deep, all-seeing eyes, soft and friendly,
Full of the warmth of human kindness.
His spirit of tolerance, of liberation,
Of love of the Republic
Filled that shrine
And reached out, calling all of us
To unity, to sacrifice, and brotherhood.
Surely his life defines the American way—
The ways of freedom, liberty of conscience,
Press, and speech.

—*A. W.*

As long as men cherish freedom, the name of Abraham Lincoln will be loved and revered. It is, therefore, peculiarly fitting that in this day, when the freedom of men all over the world is threatened, we should turn to Lincoln for guidance.

Lincoln's administration came at a decisive time in the life of the Nation, even as this hour in which we live is a decisive period in the life of the Republic, and of the world.

The national ideals for which Lincoln fought are now being ravaged internationally. The battle for freedom and freemen is not yet won. Human liberty is at stake. Lincoln's idea was to save the Union and to enshrine freedom. Ours is to preserve the Union and procure freedom for men all over the world. His was a sacred task. Ours is a sacred task.

We are today fighting slavery in a very real sense. On the battle fronts, we fight against enslavement of ourselves and others by the Axis. On the home front, we are fighting for freedom from economic slavery, from loss of local government control, from government competition in business, from excessive taxation profligately spent, from an ever-mounting public debt. It is argued that we can place our entire economic system under the rigid control of Federal bureaucracy without losing our civil liberties. The sad experience of every country which has tried it, proves the fallacy of such an idea.

As we face the future in a world greatly contracted by modern invention—a world, in other words, in which all nations will have to live much closer together—I believe we as a nation can derive sure guidance and direction from the precepts of this great American. There is much loose thinking in our country today; in the midst of a maze of seductive propaganda, let us consider a few basic truths expressed by Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln said, "Property as the fruit of labor, is a positive good in the world. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when he builds it." This bit of wisdom answers all the seduction of plausible socialistic talk with which we are surrounded today.

Lincoln didn't believe in wasting the people's money. He said, "It is an old maxim and a very sound one that he that dances should always pay the fiddler. Now, sir, if any gentleman * * * choose to lead off a dance, I am decidedly opposed to the people's money being used to pay the fiddler."

But perhaps the strongest principle along these lines to which he ever gave expression, was that in which he said, "If there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people to never intrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions."

In other words, he did not believe in a government clothed in paternalistic functions. Paternalism, no matter how benevolent, implies that those under its care are incapable of taking care of themselves. It is my own belief, as it was Lincoln's, that "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, in their separate or individual capacities. In all that people can individually do for themselves, the government ought not to interfere."

I sometimes wonder if our people realize that right here in America we are already being led along the paths which may broaden into a veritable highway toward socialism. Many of the post-war plans now under discussion sound suspiciously like the German system. If the Government hangs on to its federally-owned war plants, then Government itself will be in business—and on a tax-free basis. Washington officials have tried to federalize the unemployment system. The enormous public debt has the earmark of totalitarianism. Take the social-security program—an excellent program in many respects. There is a place in our land for a national-health program, but when that program automatically takes over all your personal health problems, then it becomes socialism.

There has been definite encroachment by the Federal Government in the field of State government, and bureaucracy is firmly entrenched in Washington. There are those who argue for centralized government as opposed to decentralized, representative government on the fallacious statement that a centralized government would be a more efficient operating unit. Surely, after 3 years of such government it is obvious to all of us that such government is neither efficient nor representative of the people. On the contrary, our great national bureaucracy has proven to be the most recklessly extravagant Government in all American history. Never before have the American people witnessed such inconsistency and chaos in the Federal Government. And it is certainly not representative, for it is made up of millions of people who owe their jobs and their loyalty to the boss—not to the people.

Lincoln made a very clear statement as to the limiting of Federal activities, the functioning of local government, and the personal rights of the individual when he said, and I quote: "I am for the people of the whole Nation doing just as they please in all matters which concern the whole Nation; for those of each part doing just as they choose in all matters which concern no other part; and for each individual doing just as he chooses in all matters which concern nobody else." That, my friends, is a definition of true democracy.

If we are now headed, as I hope we are, toward a new emancipation period, it will be well for us to keep these precepts of Lincoln firmly in mind, lest we lose those rights and privileges which have been so dearly bought by the blood of our forebears, and of our contemporaries. Merely reducing Berlin to ashes will not preserve these prerogatives. If we permit the present trend within our country to continue, we can lose, more easily than most of us realize, all those precious rights about which I have been talking.

Of course, we know that the war necessitated the granting of vastly increased powers to the Executive; but it was just such gradual increase of power in the hands of the leaders in Europe which led eventually to loss of all rights of the people. I fear this trend does not sufficiently alarm our people. There have been grave shortcomings in the executive branch of our Government—shortcomings which have not helped matters. Your Congress, the legislative branch of Government, enacted an anti-strike law. It was up to the executive branch of Government to see that that law was carried out. No law, no matter how good it is, can be effective unless it is adequately administered.

Whether an ordered world is to be established and maintained when the war is over, will depend in large measure upon the wisdom, the common sense, and the policy of the leadership and the people of the United States. I feel sincerely that we must not fail this critical and challenging hour in the world's history. We know that when this war is over, the world will not be cleansed of those evil forces which make for war. There will be no opportunity to put into effect many of the visionary schemes which have been advanced. No matter what kind of a post-war world we find ourselves in, America must see to it that she is adequately fortified against any emergency that may arise—physically fortified, and, equally important, fortified morally by adherence to those fundamental republican principles, some of which I have enumerated.

Lincoln would face this situation fearlessly. Remember his words to Congress in 1862; they have an equal significance to us today. He said, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country." Is that not a perfect direction for us today, when we too, find ourselves faced with new problems?

Lincoln stood for union within the Nation. When the war is over, there will again be a great need for the people of this country to stand united in their efforts to recover from government those rights and powers which belong in the hands of the people. Lincoln said, "To give the victory to the right, not bloody bullets but peaceful ballots only are necessary. Thanks to our good old Constitution, and organization under it, these alone are necessary. It only needs that every right-thinking man shall go to the polls, and without fear or prejudice vote as he thinks."

There, my friends, Lincoln gives us the remedy to the whole situation. If our people think rightly, and then vote according to their beliefs, this Government will indeed be a "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Let us then go forward dedicated to national unity in war and in peace, making sure there shall never be again another Pearl Harbor in our history.

This is Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, signing off, saying thank you.

Dewey's Lincoln Day Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. LEONARD W. HALL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 15, 1944

Mr. LEONARD W. HALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following text of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's address before the fifty-eighth annual Lincoln Day dinner of the National Republican Club at the Waldorf-Astoria on February 12, 1944, reprinted from the New York Herald Tribune of February 13, 1944:

It is good that we return, at least once each year, to the wisdom and the character of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was a man for the ages; because, throughout all ages, as long as human nature remains the same, the example of his life and conduct will remain a lesson and an inspiration. He was a plain man. Although he towers above his contemporaries he was very much like his fellow men. Better than any one, he knew that he was not perfect, not all-wise, not given the ability to solve the problems he faced in easy strokes of brilliance. He would have been the last to call himself indispensable. But he had one quality that made him big enough to save the United States of America in its hour of need—he had integrity of character.

When Lincoln came to the Presidency the Nation was torn by bitterness and dissension. His clear, calm vision pierced through the turgid mass of public controversy to see the essential issues. He saw one thing as fundamental—the preservation of our constitutional system.

He knew very well that our founders had devised a Constitution which could bring ordered freedom to expanding and diverse groups. They had the genius to see that sovereignty was not indivisible, but rather the total of all governmental rights.

Wiley, Hon. Alexander

Lincoln and the Problems of This Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEXANDER WILEY
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, February 18, 1943

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by me at a Lincoln Day dinner sponsored by the Manitowoc County Republican Club, held at the Lincoln Park Field House, Manitowoc, Wis., on February 12, 1943.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We come tonight to renew our faith in the Republic and to gain new strength and guidance from the life of Abraham Lincoln, who also had faith in the Republic and who gave his life for its preservation.

His period was a decisive time in the Nation's life, even as this hour in which we live is a decisive period in the life of the Republic and the world. It is a period when we need men with a strong spirit to carry on and through to victory in war, and victory in peace. We must stand steadfast in the liberty wherewith this people has been blessed.

The national ideals which Lincoln fought for are being ravaged internationally. The hopes men died for during Lincoln's day are being despoiled. The battle for freedom and free man is not yet won. We are met in a spirit of grim reality. The campfires are still burning. The torch of freedom is still aflame. Human liberty is still at stake. Lincoln's was a sacred task. Ours is a sacred task. His thought was to save the Union and to enshrine freedom. Ours is to preserve the Union and freedom. That is our objective today, and all of our energies must be focused on that objective.

From the life of Lincoln, especially during his war years, we can glean helpful aids and direction for our personal guidance and guidance as a Nation in this critical hour. It will be remembered that when Lincoln came to the presidency the country was unprepared for coming events, even as we were at the time of Pearl Harbor unprepared. Lincoln, however, had not been in office. He had not had, as the Chief Executive of the Nation, information, inside information, as to what was going on, or funds to prepare.

Lincoln took office in March 1861 and Fort Sumter was attacked on the 12th day of April. Then followed the war, and in the following months we sustained losses at Bull Run, Wilson's Creek, and Ball's Bluff. But the faith of this man would not falter.

In the first months of this war we sustained serious losses at Pearl Harbor, Wake Island, the Philippines, and the loss of over 500 ships; the loss of Kiska Island in the Aleutians, more than 60,000 casualties.

And we have also witnessed brilliant victories by our forces at Midway, Guadalcanal, Africa, Solomon Islands, and the Buna area of New Guinea.

While some military and naval men have stated that there is a possibility of peace coming through the defeat of the Axis in 1943 (and I hope they are right), I am not that sanguine. In Lincoln's time there were those who were going to take Richmond and subdue the Confederacy in a few months, but it took over 4 years of hard fighting to accomplish that result.

We are now engaged in a great world struggle, and I believe a realistic analysis of the situation is as follows: Germany is still economically and militarily formidable with very little likelihood of economic collapse in 1943, though she has passed her production peak. She is being pushed back by the magnificent efforts of the Russians, but she has extended her submarine effort to where the Allied Nations are losing 1,000,000 tons of shipping a month and equivalent supplies. This presents a very critical situation.

Japan is definitely stronger than a year ago in raw materials and within reach of a powerful and entrenched economic position except for a major weakness in shipping. In 1942 Germany captured the Maikop oil fields, increased the efficiency of her industry, took a million tons of grain from the Ukraine and from occupied territory took large numbers of workers and a great deal of machinery which was transported to Germany.

On the other hand the Axis by our invasion of Africa lost north African supplies of phosphate, edible oils, fruits, and grain supplies. Moreover, Germany's communications system has deteriorated and been seriously bombed. While Germany has passed its peak in production, the United Nations have not reached theirs. But we must remember that on the defensive Germany, providing her morale holds, can survive for a long time.

Japan has not reached her production peak. She now possesses raw materials for a greatly expanded economy, but she faces difficulties in a production expansion program. In the Far East we have cut sharply into Japan's merchant shipping tonnage, and if we continue our attacks by air and by sea, we can weaken Japan's chances in 1943 of making full use of the raw material she has looted in her conquest.

As I see it, peace is not just around the corner. We can look forward to a long time of sacrifice before the war is over. During this period we can well turn to Lincoln time and time again, and learn from his life lessons which will help us see this thing through.

As individuals we must in this critical hour strengthen our souls and toughen the fiber of our being. And now, as individuals, what can we learn from Lincoln that will help us personally today?

1. Well, he learned to govern his own mortal spirit. He hated nothing but wrong—not individuals. He learned the value of having human safety valves in his daily work with people.

(a) He knew the value of maintaining a sense of humor—even in the midst of the greatest crisis.

(b) He knew the value of prayer—of communing with his Maker. Listen to his words: "I have been driven many times to my knees by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go. My own wisdom and that of all about me seemed insufficient for the day."

(c) He knew he had to live with himself, so he treated himself squarely. He was temperate in his habits, kindly and considerate of others. He knew if he dealt dishonestly with another, he cheated himself—of self-respect, of peace of mind.

(d) He never returned evil for evil. If another slandered him, he didn't retaliate. He spent no time on the littleness and meanness of his fellow men.

(e) Though he often sustained defeat, he never accepted defeat. He always came forth from that experience stronger and wiser and with more understanding.

(f) He was never intolerant, bigoted, nor did he have time for class hatred or rancor. His thinking was ever in an upward direction. He possessed that great quality of loyalty—loyalty to the cause of the Union, loyalty to proved values.

Let us stop and illustrate a few of these points we have made. We have said that he knew the value of maintaining a sense of humor. Those were critical days that Lincoln faced, and you remember that he reached out and surrounded himself with the best brains the country possessed. They were his Cabinet. And when the months stretched by and there were defeats, these wise men, men with college degrees after their names—lawyers, financiers—these men sat around the Cabinet table with set visages, with minds closed with fear, minds inoperative, if you please—then Lincoln would tell a story.

He knew that these minds were no good to him in the shape they were in. He had to loosen them. He had to get them into operation.

He was wiser than all his advisers. Lincoln had traveled the hard road. He had learned in the school of experience. He was born in obscurity and reared in poverty. He had struggled for an education. He knew people.

While at first he was unskilled in statecraft, he had become a great debater, a master of the English language and logic through self-education, and he soon became the statesman. And in this procedure of getting self-educated, in the school of hard knocks, he never forgot the imperative need of maintaining judgment under all circumstances, and he knew that when times were critical judgment was needed more than ever before.

And he knew also that there was one—his Creator—who was ever present and available in time of trouble, and so he communed with Him for strength and guidance.

No man in American history was as maligned as Abraham Lincoln. Yet in the midst of a storm of abuse and vilification, he carried on the Nation's battle patiently (in the midst of intrigue, jealousy, and treachery). He could take no time from his daily tasks to answer the slander. He said, "The things with which I deal are too great for malice."

Let me repeat, he possessed a saving sense of human and an abiding faith in God. His humor was wise and witty comment—good stories—and he found release for his taut nerves and his overworked brain in a good story and a good laugh.

Most of us can learn from Lincoln how to govern ourselves, how to make life more worth while, how to make a contribution in this great period to the life and welfare of the Nation of which we are a part, how individually to be fitter to meet the problems before us and better able to meet the responsibilities of citizenship.

As we face coming events in a world which is contracted—made much smaller by the inventions of man—I believe we as a nation can also gain a great deal of direction and guidance from the life of this great American. In this period when we have a great deal of loose thinking and indulge in a great many loose, seductive phrases, let us learn from Lincoln a few basic truths. Lincoln said "Property is the fruit of labor, is a positive good in the world. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when he builds it." Here is a "nugget" of wisdom, answering all the seduction of communistic and socialistic talk.

We are today fighting slavery in a very real sense. We are fighting the slavery of the Axis and we are fighting other kinds of slavery. We are fighting for freedom from economic slavery. Lincoln is the direct opposite of Hitler's entire philosophy.

Lincoln believed in the institution of private property. He said, "If there is one thing which can prove to be the well of heaven by external nature around us, without reference to revelation, it is the proposition that whatever a man earns with his hands and with the sweat of his brow, he shall have the right to enjoy in peace."

We are heading toward a new emancipation period and it will be well for us to bear in mind the same doctrines which motivated Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation.

In the post-war period we might well recall Lincoln's beliefs on a representative democracy. He did not believe in a government clothed in paternallstic functions. He said, "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do it all, or cannot do so well, in their separate or individual capacities. In all that people can individually do for themselves, the Government ought not to interfere."

There is much talk now of a peace plan. When that time comes when we must think in terms of reconstructing a world, let us bear in mind that we shall need clear thinkers, sane thinkers, just thinkers, men who can see through the problem and find the solution—and this can only take place when we follow the directive of Lincoln, "With malice toward none, with charity for all."

He saw that it was not with politicians or officeseekers, but "with you, the people, the Union, and the libertles of this country shall be preserved to the latest generations." He knew the people had to think this problem through. In 1863, in the dark hours, he said: "Let us not be oversanguine of a speedy, final triumph—let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in His own good time, will give us the rightful result." That was good advice then—it is very good advice for all of us to heed now.

And again listen to the words of this great commoner: "The struggle of today is not altogether for today. It is for a vast future also. With a reliance in Providence all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us."

With that clause, "Let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us," and the concluding sentence of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, "That this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth," we have the direction and guidance of that great soul, indicating how this people shall proceed to meet and handle the new and the greater problem of world reconstruction and world peace.

Lincoln as a statesman always kept his head and he kept his mind on the objective. You will remember he said, "One war at a time," when England's minister was edging toward war, and during the Civil War, when others lost sight of the need for the Union, he carried on—otherwise we might have had another continent of many nations.

Lincoln was always a Union adherent, and he knew that in union there was strength. He believed in collaboration, in getting folks to pull together. He saw the need of cementing the fragments of a once broken Union. He saw this so clearly that he was adamant. Thank God for his vision. And he proceeded to perform "the great task which events have devolved upon us."

So we must proceed in the great task which events have developed upon us with caution and judgment and see to it that this Government shall not perish from the earth.

I believe that the concensus of the people of this country is that they want their servants to plan, and execute a plan, whereby it shall be humanly possible to prevent great world wars from coming upon the world again. I believe that the people of this Nation want our Government to explore the possibilities of some kind of an organization between nations with teeth in it, to enforce peace.

Lincoln would face this situation fearlessly—this new situation. Remember his words spoken to Congress in 1862. They are meant for us today. I quote: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country." Here he speaks like a prophet of old—giving direction to the people.

I believe if Lincoln were with us today he might say something like this: "When this war is over, the occasion will be piled high with difficulty, but we must rise with the occasion. The situation we face is entirely new, but we must be ready with new vision to meet the problems of this new day. We must disenthrall ourselves from the limitations which would interfere with our doing the big job that is before this people."

Whether an ordered world is to be established and maintained, when the war is over, will depend in a large degree on the wisdom, the common sense, and the policy of the leadership and the people of the United States.

I feel sincerely we must not fail this critical and challenging hour in the world's history. We must clear away the confusion and the rubbish which surrounds us and go forth to fulfill our destiny. We must win through to victory and then we must shape a peace plan that must be workable, practical, and lasting. It must be rooted in democratic principles. While there are those among us who contend that peace depends on economic action, there are others who say it is a question of social security and social justice; still others see the importance of spiritual forces, claiming that the world must be reeducated and there must be a revival of basic religious values; and others say it is a question of getting all peoples acquainted with the value of democracy and the growth and respect for law.

We, fellow Americans, must never forget that we are living in a changing world and that the question of maintaining a world order and peace depends to a large extent upon the power lodged in the coordinated effort of nations. We in America maintain our police force and our Federal Bureau of Investigation. We know the need therefor.

So in a world league, as long as man is man, power to enforce order must be lodged in the proper authority. Even the Master said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"—recognizing that worldly matters must be taken into cognizance.

When I speak of power lodged in the international organization which may come after the war, I realize that the use of power or misuse thereof presents a problem of the first magnitude.

We in America feel we have solved that problem by a system of checks and balances in government.

The good Samaritan had power—the power of kindliness, of the right kind of service. He had "wine and oil and cash" and the knowledge as to how to use them.

The personnel of the league which will be created must embrace men who not only possess great administrative minds and capacity, but men who possess the attributes of the great Samaritan, men who kindle hope and destroy fear, who are charitable, fearless, understanding, merciful, men who would heal the hurts of the world.

If this organization were so staffed, it would function as an international guardian—aiding the minor peoples to grow to adult stature.

We have done that job in the Philippines, bringing that people up in knowledge and ability to where, when the war is won, self-government will be their lot. The loyalty of the Philippine people in this war toward this country demonstrates the quality of American statesmanship. In the years since we went into the Philippines, we have acted, by and large, for their good. We have aided in building that people in stature and wisdom.

We have heard much said about isolation, but no one has ever suggested that we should build a Chinese wall around this country. The question now is, How far shall we go to seek to prevent a repetition of another world war? It must be conceded at the outset, considering the psychological, religious, intellectual, social, and political condition of the various races of the earth, that it would be impossible to amalgamate them into a world state—at least for a long time to come.

But there are peoples and nations, ready and willing—people who think alike, who feel we must reach out as our fathers did in 1787 to attempt a solution to the world's chaotic condition.

We know that when this war is over, the world will not be cleansed of those evil forces which make for war. There will be no opportunity to put into effect a great many of the Utopian and visionary schemes which have been advanced. Our problem is to create a plan and we must ever bear in mind that the plan must fit a complex world which is ever changing and has to deal with nations and groups—and their capacity, and will, to fit into the plan.

Consequently, with our eyes on the past and aware of the experiences of history, let America go forward searching out the way for a world's good, but constantly on the alert and on guard—aware of the dangers within and without which might threaten her very existence. No matter what kind of a post-war world we find ourselves in, or the kind of a post-war organization in which we may find ourselves—whether it be a federation of the democracies, a system of regional arrangements, a league of nations, or a new balance of power set-up—let America see to it that she is adequately fortified against any emergency that may arise. By that I mean America should be in possession of the outlying islands bordering on America and the Caribbean, she should have adequate sea and air bases throughout the globe, adequate military, naval, and air power, ever bearing in mind that America, if she lives up to her destiny, should be the lighthouse of the world, lighting the way for other nations so they will follow and live and prosper in peace.

On the subject of looking after our own, let me quote the Apostle Paul, "If any provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." I believe this statement is applicable in a national sense. We Americans who owe so much to America must provide for our own. This poses the question, How best to provide? We must see to it that this lighthouse of ours, this beloved America, does not trade away her great economic and political treasures for a mess of international pottage. We must keep her free and safe and able ever, not only able to provide for and protect her own, but to be the great Samaritan among the nations of earth.

A new world awaits us after the war. We, as a people, are learning in wartime to put forth in teamwork the energy of a united people. If we follow through in peace the lessons we have learned in war, the sky is the limit.

Let us have the faith of a Lincoln, the integrity of a Lincoln, and the vision of a Lincoln. Then indeed will we march forward in the world of tomorrow, meeting squarely the great destiny that is America's.

The Cult of Competency

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, February 18, 1943

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a very in-

Wiley, Alexander

Small game species which live primarily on privately owned agricultural lands include rabbits and squirrels, raccoons, possums, skunks, foxes, and fur-bearers like the muskrat, as well as nongame species, such as the chipmunk and woodchuck that undoubtedly play their necessary part in the pyramid of life. Game birds include quail, mourning dove, and pheasant; and there is no doubt that privately owned farmlands provide some of the important migratory waterfowl nesting and wintering grounds and feeding areas along the flyways. Equally important all across America in maintaining nature's balances are the resident and migratory songbirds that use the fields, fencerows, woodlots, and stream banks—rather than the deep forest.

We have been thoroughly sold on the idea that all soil conservation is automatically good for wildlife; yet this theory is easy to shoot full of holes. Among agricultural agencies, the Soil Conservation Service has perhaps made the greatest effort to work with the wildlife people, but even here we find stumbling blocks. The very nature of the land classification used by SCS has a tendency to relegate all wildlife to the wasteland which, because of its low life carrying capacity, is almost as ill-suited for this purpose as for growing crops or supporting livestock. All one need do is drive through the richest farmlands in America where each county boasts a soil conservation district to see that no room whatever is left for, and no consideration given to, the needs of either game or nongame wild creatures.

Drainage of wet lands constantly advocated by SCS to bring more land into production—generally of parity supported surplus crops—is one part of its program exceedingly inimical to wildlife. But industrialized farming generally points in the same direction. The leveling of land for irrigation, the elimination of farm woodlots as a productive part of the family farm, the removal of fencerows and hedges to make larger fields; all these change the wildlife pattern and, generally speaking, lower the wildlife carrying capacity of the land. In some places where strip cropping, the planting of hedge fences and the use of permanent vegetation are standard recommendations, wildlife may fare better.

Another trend in industrialized farming that bodes ill for wildlife is the vastly increased and almost totally careless use of agricultural poisons. Many of these applied for insect, disease, and rodent control belong to a group known as chlorinated hydrocarbons and become steadily more toxic as the species they are designed to control become more and more tolerant of them. Few are widely tested before coming into general use, many are applied by farmers with utterly no safety controls. Even when applied by official agencies, application rates often run to many times the safe tolerances which as frequently as not are as little understood by the applying agency as by the public.

With the use of these materials, spectacular kills of valuable wildlife species have occurred and the toxic effects remain in the soil for years. The poisons are cumulative in the bodies of warmblooded creatures including man, with results not yet fully realized. Considerably less is known about the poisonous effect of herbicides used for weed and brush spraying, although their result in destroying wildlife habitat is obvious to anyone who has ever experienced having his fencerows sprayed by accident.

LINCOLN

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, inasmuch as this is Lincoln Week, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for 7 minutes on the subject of Lincoln.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered; and the Senator from Wisconsin may proceed.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this week we celebrate the birth of Abraham Lincoln. How best can this be done? The answer is: By applying his wisdom to this age in which we live—by getting acquainted with his ideas and using them; making them a part of ourselves.

Listen, my friends, Lincoln speaks: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." This is, indeed, a guide for us. The words which stick out are "malice toward none, charity for all, and firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right." He lived in troublesome times—like those in which we are living. Can we have that same faith he had? Lincoln, as someone said, put living the Bible above that of confessing it—and, as a result, he was never alone. He outstripped the minds of those who were against him.

Listen, Lincoln speaks: "This Government must be preserved in spite of the acts of any man, or set of men." That is the challenge, my friends, that we have before us today—preserving this Government. It calls for the kind of a mind Lincoln had. He found strength in utilizing humor. And he said that when he had no other place to go, he went to his knees for guidance.

In this age of challenge by communism, and the attack upon the dollar—in other words, inflation—we have got to see to it that the lopsided thinking of pseudoeconomists, and of those who will not see the challenge of communism, do not threaten this country.

Lincoln speaks: "The struggle for today is not altogether for today. It is for a vast future, also." How wise he was. And do we, who live today, realize that our acts are going to determine what our children and our grandchildren are going to inherit? We remember that another bit of wisdom was: We cannot lift the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer; and we cannot bring prosperity by discouraging thrift. Also, we cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

Let us also remember that he said: "There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob rule." Mob rule, of course, is due to a lack of balance in our thinking—and we have got to watch out for that. Right now, with the swastika showing up in other lands, and in our own, we see evidence of upset minds which do not think straight, as Lincoln would have had us do.

Lincoln speaks: "I do not impugn the motives of anyone opposed to me." In the days up ahead, in the political campaign, if the candidates would argue the facts, instead of seek to impugn the motives or indulge in personalities, what a contribution that would be to the day in which we live. He knew—this first great leader of the Republican Party—that "the country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it"—the common people whom, he said, "God must have loved, he made so many of them."

Wiley, Alexander

Lincoln speaks: "We cannot escape history." He spoke of revolutions by the ballot box. He spoke of keeping faith with friend and foe, and said he would not willingly "plant a thorn in any man's bosom." While we cannot escape history, let us not forget that we cannot escape making history. We will make the outline of the future; and it is for us, the living, to make sure that that outline results in the preservation of the country and the institutions Lincoln loved.

Lincoln speaks: "You cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence." How true that statement is. Take away a man's initiative and independence, and we make him a slave. We take away from him the challenge to become somebody—to grow nearer to the image of his Maker. The responsibility of us who are living today is tremendous, in that respect. We cannot breed a nation of "learners" or "chiselers" or "dependents." I am not talking simply in terms of economics. I am talking about the challenges, in this kindergarten school of life, to breed a citizenry that will be competent in mind, as well as in physique, to meet the challenges of today. That is why Lincoln's words are so important today.

Lincoln speaks: "Let the people know the facts, and the country will be saved." Yes, we need the facts—we do not need a lot of guessers. We need newspapers that will publish the facts, and editorial writers who, when they write their editorials, will state the facts and then draw their conclusions from them. I suppose there was no man in American history who was maligned as much as Abraham Lincoln was. And yet he did not let the malignity corrode his soul. He had a faith that gave him direction and guidance—and he said: "Let no man falter who thinks he is right."

I conclude with the words of Margaret Sangster:

Met were the man and the hour—man who was strong for the shock.
Fierce were the lightnings unleashed—in the midst he stood like a rock.
Comrade he was, and commander he who was meant for the time.
Iron in counsel and action—simple, aloof, and sublime.

Yes, Lincoln was the man for that hour. His ideas are for all time.

UNFAIR COMPETITION FROM FOREIGN INSURANCE COMPANIES

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, among the various hearings the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee held last year, there were some devoted to the topic of insurance. The purpose of the hearings was to gage the effectiveness of State regulation of insurance, in light of the McCarran Act, which exempted insurance from the Federal antitrust laws to the extent that such business was regulated by the States.

About a week ago the subcommittee prepared for printing a report of its activities for last year. I thought it advisable to add to this report some of my individual views, because I felt that the

Willard, Daniel

Baltimore And Ohio Magazine

February, 1927.

TRIBUTE

Abraham Lincoln

To me Lincoln more than any other man typifies America—I use the word America as equivalent to the United States. Lincoln was certainly not highly educated as the word is ordinarily used. He was not highly cultured when measured by the ordinary use of the word culture. Nor was he brilliant as the word brilliant is generally used in connection with human qualities. And still, by the common consent, I take it, of all Americans—and I think I might safely say of all people, regardless of nationality, who understand what he did and stood for—he has been given a place in history and in the hearts of men which is shared by hardly any other individual since the birth of Christ, who was also, we may assume, a man of humble origin, simple, sympathetic and with gentle point of view.

Lincoln's greatness—and, of course, he was great, preeminently so in certain ways—was due I think to his wonderful understanding of humanity and its thoughts and aspirations, and his ability to understand clearly the things to which he gave his serious attention. Having a clear understanding of the subject in mind, he also had the gift of being able to state his thoughts in such simple language and such precise terms that no one could fail to understand his meaning. I like to think of Lincoln as typifying in his humble birth and his ultimate accomplishment the opportunity which the word "America" ought to mean to every boy fortunate enough to be born under the American flag.

—Daniel Willard, President, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, in "The Locomotive Engineers' Journal"

Williams, Prof. Alonzo

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY.

Professor Williams, in a Brilliant Oration, Tells the Middlesex Club That the Martyr President Was No Pessimist.

Boston Sun. Journal 2-12-1899

What would Abraham Lincoln have thought about "the white man's burden? Prof. Alonzo Williams of Brown University, in a Lincoln dinner speech before the Middlesex Club at Young's, made use of the dominating qualities of the martyr President to point out the duty of the American people regarding the Philippines. At the close of his speech Prof. Williams was made an honorary member of this stalwart Republican organization.

True to its time-hallowed usage, the Middlesex Club held its annual fete commemorative of the birth of the 16th President of the United States. Today is really the 90th anniversary of Lincoln's birth. Ordinarily, when the day falls on Sunday, the Lincoln dinner is held Monday evening, but the proximity of the Home Market Club dinner caused it to be held Saturday, and as Saturday evening is part of the New England Sabbath, the dinner became a late afternoon lunch.

The President of the club, ex-Gov. J. Q. A. Braekett, called the club to order, and in a few words reminded the guests of their purpose in assembling.

Brief speeches were made by Brig. Gen. Embury F. Clark, late Colonel of the Second Massachusetts Regiment, and by Rev. James M. Pullman, D. D., of Lynn.

Prof. Williams's Oration.

Prof. Alonzo Williams of Providence was then introduced and spoke as follows:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Middlesex Club: I rise under the spell of an unusual trepidation, the causes of which are numerous, miscellaneous and mixed. In the first place, I am gently warned that for this banquet you have a new by-law which runneth after the Scriptural beatitude: 'Blessed be he who maketh a short speech, for he shall be invited to come again.' Now I do not wish to put myself in jeopardy of losing one of the best things this side eternal life, but to request one to make a short speech upon a theme of such magnitude is a request bordering on the impossible. In student days I was a member of a Greek letter society whose President had dictatorial power once a month to summon any member to his feet, assign him a theme, and announce the time he must speak upon it. The present situation reminds me of those anxious days.

"A year ago I joined you on Veterans' Night, recalling the memories of that golden era in our history of which we may not say with Aeneas, quorum pars magna fuin, yet each of us may claim it is glory enough for immortality to be able to say of that era he was pars minima. In April last I met with you again on Grant Night to dwell upon the character and virtues of our great commander, and we still remember how the soul of each sprang up divinely tall, touched but in passing by his mantle hem. Today we assemble to do homage to our martyr President and hang our wreath on his world-honored urn.

"Lincoln the immortal! What may I say of him? It is not my purpose to enumerate his virtues; I desire simply to mention two of his most prominent characteristics, pregnant with instruction in our present crisis. The more I study the life of that remarkable man the more I am impressed with his optimism. If ever there was a man who could with justice be a pessimist, that man was Abraham Lincoln. Heredity, environment, bitter experience, every factor that determines character made for pessimism, and a less divinely-gifted nature would have yielded to the forces that shape human destiny. He was afflicted with a constitutional tendency to gloom, and we are all familiar with that strange, impressive sadness that dwelt upon his face; but behind that dark sad face was a bright optimistic soul. Seldom may we find such a face married to such a soul. It recalls that of the Saviour painted by Leonardo da Vinci in Milan.

Lincoln's Optimism.

"On the eve of his natal day it is well to recall his optimism of our great President, as it was the centre of so many kindred virtues which adorn his life; sympathy, patience, forbearance, love, magnanimity, a wreath of virtues handed down, a legacy to all generations.

"What a lesson for our leaders, for our people today. Never did a people have more causes for optimism; never did a people flounder in the mire of a deeper pessimism. Schopenhauer himself would hardly own us as disciples. Nothing is right; everything is not only bad, it is the worst. Pessimism! yet since we met last April, what wonderful history this people has made, achievements without parallel; an empire won in the East without the loss of a man, the Antilles in the West without a single reverse, and, better than all conquest, the reunion on the field of heroic achievement of all parts of our beloved country, North and South, and as if all this were not enough for joy and optimism, the heavens seem to open and disclose to our view a future grander in opportunity than our glorious past has been.

"It seems well-nigh incredible, in view of the unparaleled achievements of the recent war, the matchless heroism, the magnificent results, in which all participants have won imperishable glory, it is incredible that so many in high places, so many of our people can see only the pessimistic side of the picture, see everything through jaundiced spiritual goggles. During the war there were those, even in our highest institutions of learning, who spent all their energy in morbid carping at the heroes who were winning honors such as are seldom won. But the months since the close of the war! In all my reading of history I do not recall a situation so humiliating, a spectacle so unworthy a people as that we have exhibited before the nations. Pessimism rules the hour. We have become critical, hypercritical, hypocritical. Censure, criticism, depreciation, reprobation, condemnation in place of approbation and praise are meted out to all.

Glorious Fruits of the War.

"The war has cost something, hundreds of millions of money, lives of brave men; it has cost also what these carping pessimists in their ignorance of history did not expect it to cost, just what all wars cost—sickness, suffering, sorrow. Yes, Colonel (turning to Col. Clark), it cost mistakes. All priceless things cost something. Civilization in all the stages of the upward struggle has cost something; Thermopylae, Marathan, Salamis, Christianity cost something: the passion and death of the Son of God. Christianity cost something: ask Constantine, Merovius and Charlemagne. The Crusades cost something: to rescue the Holy sepulchre from Saracen hands cost centuries of heroism, and many expeditions went down before reaching the Holy Land, and with them such leaders as Richard of the Lion Heart and Friedrich of the Barbarossa. The reformation cost something: the Thirty years' war, devastating Central Europe as never before or since. The French revolution cost something: that incarnation of individual autonomy, that right-about-face of humanity, that overthrow of the feudal system and establishment of the modern industrial State cost blood and suffering. The American revolution cost something. The war for the Union cost something. Reunited Germany cost something. Civilization is an expensive luxury. A recent writer on sociology affirms that there is no moral basis for progress, no ground in reason for civilization. It costs too much. Let us have done with this carping cant. No war ever cost so little in proportion to the glorious results as the Spanish war of 1898. No such great stage in the history of the race ever cost less in expense in life and suffering.

"The second cardinal virtue of Lincoln was faith, a virtue akin to optimism. He had an abiding faith in the people, its manhood, its sense of justice and right, its noble purpose, its ability to grapple with the problems of destiny. No man with such a faith in the common people ever saw them fail him. Whence this lack of faith in the American people? This loud declaration in high halls that the American people is not to be trusted, that it has lost its virility, its manhood, its love of liberty and sense of right; that it would willingly enslave a race intrusted to its guardianship; that it is insincere and cannot be trusted to sign a treaty of peace until put under bond to deal justly? Such distrust is not found in the creed of Lincoln, nor warranted by the character of the American people. Lincoln had an unwavering faith in the mission of this republic. He believed in the guidance of Divine Providence in the fulfillment of that mission. He believed in the extension of its principles of liberty, of humanity, 'wherever downtrodden man wet his crust with tears.'

A New Map of The World.

"Let us rise to full consciousness of our great opportunity. A new era dawns. A new map of the world is to be drawn. America is to determine largely its contour. Let us have faith in her destiny. It is wonderful to observe how marvelously this people has been led thus far. We stand today on the crest of the centuries. The history and achievements of four hundred years pass in majestic procession before our bewildered gaze until we are lost in admiration and amazement and awe; the era of discoveries crowded with adventure and emblazoned with the deeds of those hardy mariners whose brave keels cut on Vinland sands the first runes in the Saga of the West; the era of colonization pregnant with such mighty issues and adorned with such mighty names, men of old,

"Now ancient like the gods,
And safe as stars in all men's memories;"

the era of the Revolution when men thought great thoughts and lived great lives and did great deeds; the critical era of confederation, the long struggle for national life under the Constitution, and for the Union which so nearly ended in the greatest tragedy in history. These pages read today like the books of a grand Homeric Epos. Every hour has been an hour of splendid destiny. Every era has been an era of splendid triumph. The entire record is resplendent with brilliant achievements which hold captive now the admiration of a world, and the crowned result as we look upon it today outruns the swiftest apprehension. Can one read American history and still fail to comprehend the destinies of this republic? The Spanish war was but a part of the same old struggle waged for centuries against the same old foe, the struggle of the Anglo-Saxon against the Roman, the struggle inaugurated by Hermann 19 centuries ago in the forests of Teutoburg, the struggle of liberty against oppression, the struggle of civilization against the inquisition, the struggle which determined the ethnic character of the dominant race in the New World. That contest for supremacy decided the fate of this republic. Had the Saxon succumbed, the republic could not have been, for from the forests of ancient Germania we inherit the germs of our free institutions.

Let Us Have Faith!

"During the present century has the struggle progressed; the purchase of Louisiana and the opening of the Mississippi; the acquisition of the Floridas and the shores of the gulf; the conquest of Texas and the addition of a new Republic; the conquest of California and the treasures of the Eldorado. Then Alaska and new wealth untold; then Hawaii, the queen of the Pacific. Can one read history and fail to see the hand of God? Expansion do we fear? Pray, what has the Republic been doing but expanding ever since the kindly advice of the Father of His Country? That little 'kid' to whom the father bade farewell with advice suited to his age and station and sent him out on his mission has developed into a giant fit to wrestle for the first honors of the world with the best equipped champions who come up henceforth to the great Olympian games.

"Gentlemen! Let us have done with cant! We can! We will have faith! That typical element of character which has inspired the American people through the struggle of centuries to this triumphant issue; faith, the highest, the deepest, the most potent power that moves man or nations to supremest action; faith, that element of character which dominated all others in Washington, in Lincoln, in Grant. Pessimism never won a victory. Civilization never advanced through carping criticism. Faith is the central fact and factor in American civilization; a faith that is optimistic faith in the American people, faith in the sublime mission of this Republic. Gentlemen! Let us have faith!"

The Fidelity and Casualty Company of New York

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From the sturdy stock of pioneers he came.
Hardship, deprivation, soul-testing were his lot at the beginning;
Born as poor as the Child at Bethlehem;
God knew him at the birth and gave His benediction at that log cabin coming;
Schooled by rugged contests in a poverty-stricken atmosphere; hard-pressed, obstacle-surrounding; soul-burdening, experience-teaching;
Playdays were few with him;
Boyhood and manhood grew together in his life;
He increased in knowledge by an intuition not given to ordinary men;
He had the stamp of approval of divine goodness;
Common-sense, common people, common lessons and common applications were ever with him;
He applied his heart unto wisdom and found favor with God and man;
His life was fashioned after primal things - solid and substantial - earth and sky and sea;
The earth was in his soul; life-giving, man-sustaining, foundation-rooted; rock-ribbed;
His goal was as far reaching as the vaulted heavens; starry-sprinkled, beacon-lighting, certain-charted;
His mind was like the sea-deep, vast and calm - until the storms exact their unrest and unquestioned activity; then, all-inclusive in its decision - he struck the blow that freed a race from the bondage of serfdom;
He took his place on the battlefields and suffered with the mothers of earth;
He held the Nation steadfast and sturdy like a mighty oak in the forest primeval, and when he fell, by a stroke of fate, in the words of Edwin Markham, "He went down as when a kingly cedar, green with living boughs goes down, with a great shout upon the hills and leaves a lonesome place against the sky".
God walked hand-in-hand with Abraham Lincoln.

Geo. Walker Williams.

Geo. Walker Williams

Williams, Sen. John Sharp

LINCOLN AS ONE WITH AMERICANS

Others Great, But None Greater, Says Williams.

Hodgenville, Ky., Sept. 4.—Senator John Sharp Williams said the occasion was fraught with memories and meanings. He said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The presentation and acceptance of this generous gift, which is really made to the nation and its people of the United States, whose servants we all are—the President being chief only—is fraught not only with memories, but with meanings too many and too various for one man's expression.

Abraham Lincoln was born in yonder little log cabin. He was not the first nor the only one of our great men to be thus humbly born. He sprang from that poorer class of Southern white people whence sprang also Patrick Henry, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson and so many others whose names illustrate on the pages of our history the fact that those of humblest origin in a free democracy of equal opportunities can, and often do, reach the very highest station.

Lincoln was not "The First American," as has been said of him. There were preceding him, even in the presidential chair, others who were not colonials of any European people, but thoroughly and altogether American—typical Americans, each in his own way.

* * *

Work of the Tide of Time.

He was more than "The First American," however. He was one of the greatest Americans. The tide of time, which has burled animosities and prejudices, has left every reflecting and just mind free and yet compelled to draw that conclusion. He was great, not in the way that Alexander of Macedon or Napoleon of Corsica was, but in a better way. His was not the greatness of genius, nearly always selfish. His was the greatness of common sense and tenderness. It consisted fundamentally in intellectual and moral humility and in intellectual and moral integrity, which salient characteristics enabled him to furnish to the world a spectacle scarcely, if ever, excelled, of self-subordination to the interests, the welfare, the unity of the republic, and, more characteristically perhaps yet, of self-surrender to an enlightened public opinion, the growth of which he shared and studied, the tendency of which he cautiously and wisely guided, and the consummation of which into deed he, at the right moment, effected. He never went so fast that the common sense and the common conscience of the common people could not keep measurably apace, nor did he ever go so slowly that these left him stranded on the shore, while they passed beyond him, under other and quicker and abler navigators.

* * *

Lincoln Great Human Instrument.

In other words, he was like all the great human instrumentalities of Providence—a part and parcel of the growing form and texture of the time—unconsciously following and consciously directing American public sentiment, as this came naturally or was forced by inevitable circumstance into existence. This enlightened public opinion, for which he had "a decent regard," constituted then, as always, the only real controlling force and sovereign power in a country whose people are free and self-governing.

Horace Greeley once accused him of being an opportunist. So are, and must be, all real statesmen in free countries. They weigh opportunity and measure its strength, but they also help to create it and then seize the opportunity to effect the desired result. This is sagacity as contradistinguished from "smartness." They are opportunists, but they are more.

Lincoln was in this and some other respects singularly like that other great American, Thomas Jefferson. Both of them were idealists in the closet and statesmen in office. There was no limit to the visions which either had of what Jefferson called "the indefinite perfectibility of human nature," nor to their confidence in the progress and enlightenment of man, under rightly constituted popular government founded on an enlightened and educated public opinion. Both were democrats and both believed in the aristocracy of intelligence as the only aristocracy regognizable by freemen. Many dreams which either had have come true. Many more are yet in the womb of fate, certain later to come forth. Yet neither in office ever attempted to force upon the country any result for which a considerable and probably prevailing public opinion was not ready. They attempted to pluck, when in charge of the orchard, no fruit until the fruit was either ripe or ripening, and, above all, their purpose was not to kill or even harm the tree. Hence both are accused by men of little minds of "inconsistency!" It is to be noted, however, that neither ever really "deserted a principle or a friend," as Jefferson's daughter proudly said of her father.

No two men who have figured conspicuously in molding the destinies of the English-speaking race ever equaled these two in their abiding, patient and loving reliance upon the rectitude of the purposes of the people and in unswerving faith in the wisdom of their ultimate decision. Lincoln never tired of professing himself a disciple of Jefferson. He went so far at one time as to say that the vital spirit—that is, the birth principle—of American institutions was to be found in the Declaration of Independence, and not in the Constitution of the United States. On no fundamentally great question did they ever materially differ—not even about slavery—not even about the relations which should exist between the two races in the event of negro emancipation. Between the two the chief difference was one of personal temperament; Lincoln of the two lived very much more within himself. He was, spiritually speaking, a lonesome man—sadly so—but throwing about himself a veil of anecdote and humor—sometimes rough humor—which served as a shield to ward off intrusion. Hidden behind this veil was not only serious but pathetic, and nearly always solitary, thought. Hence that indescribable mixture of humor and pathos which we find in him, as in Shakespeare and Cervantes.

Mr. Jefferson, on the contrary, was frequently witty, but had no sense of humor at all, and seemed to take a sort of delight in letting all the world see every process of his thought as though through a window glass.

* * *

Man Is Different.

It is trite now to say that every man in this world is the product of two things—his heredity and his environment. Unlike plants and irrational creatures, however, man is not altogether the product of either or of both. While his environment makes him, he helps to make his environment—can even somewhat change it by conscious purpose. Moreover, while he cannot repress nor reverse, he may influence the tendencies of his heredity even.

Lincoln's family we all know about. There was very little stimulating in its influence. It furnished rather a platform to rise from than a standard to live up to.

Likewise his early environment was, to say the least, discouraging; there was little in it to evoke ambition or to encourage, "hoping through hope, to reach the stars."

But he rose from the platform; he reached the stars.

Within almost modern big-gun-shot distance from where we now stand Jefferson Davis was born.

Both of these men were "Border State" men, Kentuckians; both of them came from pioneer ancestry, who had fought for American freedom and had braved the dangers and endured the isolation of the wilderness. It is a curious reflection, though there be not time to indulge in it here and now, as to how far each of these men's future—his political philosophy—the sectional patriotism of each—his leaning to nationality on the one side or to States' rights on the other—might have been altered, mayhap reversed, had Jefferson Davis' family moved him into Indiana and then into Illinois, and had Abraham Lincoln's family moved him first into Louisiana and then into Mississippi. However interesting that inquiry may be, the reverse occurred. Davis became a very extreme Southerner; Lincoln never became a very extreme Northerner. The men were very much alike, and yet both were alike in possessing the cardinal human virtues—truthfulness, moral and intellectual honesty, courage, loyalty to ideals. There was, too, somewhat of inflexibility about both, though in one case the inflexibility, while knightly, was stern, logical, unyielding, unhumorous and even proud; while in the other case it was modified by humility and a rich sense of humor, from which flowed that wonderful capacity for "making allowances," that broad knowledge of an opposite's way of looking at things, that sympathetic appreciation of the moods and ways of thinking and the ways of feeling of the untaught and unenriched masses of mankind.

With Davis there were no laughter-inciting "sidelights on himself and others and their relations to one another" to relieve even temporarily the tension of a fixed and absorbing purpose. Lincoln was never without them. By being never without them he made lesser men like Stanton, for example, "very impatient." Davis became the very type of the best plantation life of the extreme South. As a part and parcel of that life he consecrated himself to his section, whose very civilization and social order he thought to be menaced. Lincoln consecrated himself to the nation. Both endured nobly to the very end, each steadfastly "keeping the faith."

* * *

Lincoln a Border Man.

Lincoln remained all his life a borderer. In his temperament he came very much nearer that of the Southerner than that of the New Engiander, or the New Yorker or Pennsylvanian. No theory of any sort would ever have led him into that gross violation of common sense and common justice, which after the war brought about the grotesque though cruel saturnalia of the Southern reconstruction governments; nor could any theory, or any war experience, however bitter, have brought him to a hatred for the Southern white people, even of the slave-holding class. He lived with none; he died without any.

He was a great Nationalist, not only in political vision, but in this: That he knew and loved the people of both sections. He was perhaps the most thoroughly Nationalistic and the least sectionalistic of all our Presidents, not even excepting George Washington, who never forgot that he was "A Virginian and a gentleman." Hence it is peculiarly appropriate that the legal title to Mr. Lincoln's birthplace should rest in the nation itself.

It may be sadly recorded that while he understood the men of both sections, it is doubtful if any very large percentage of those of either ever understood him until long after he was dead. Jefferson Davis understood him partially; understood fully his utter lack of malice. Witness the superb reply of the chief of the fallen Confederacy when, his attention having been called to President Johnson's proclamation containing the insinuation that he (Davis), had been complicite to the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, he replied: "There is one man in the United States, at any rate, who knows that to be a falsehood. That is the man who wrote it. He knows that I would infinitely rather have Lincoln than to have him in the White House." Davis afterward said: "Next to the loss of the cause itself, the death of Mr. Lincoln was the greatest calamity that ever befell the South."

Shakespeare, whose writings Mr. Lincoln read and loved so much, helped to mold his thought. The broad and sympathetic charity with which he viewed, and sometimes laughed at, all men and women—the wise and the foolish, the just and the unjust, the learned and the ignorant, the sinners whom Christ came to save and the righteous, who "needed not a physician"—was almost Shakespearean—leaving anger against those who might, or might not, deserve it to God who knew—repeating sincerely, as he did in one of his inaugural addresses: "But let us not judge lest we be judged." I think he absorbed from Shakespeare the characteristic breadth in expressing thought which led to this: that so many utterances of his are not confined in their applicability to the time or the place where they were made, but expand in appositeness to many places and many times. Even when arguing a concrete institution like slavery his language was universal rather than particular. His English was terse, forcible, Saxon. His Gettysburg speech is the most eloquent illustration of these qualities—verily multum in parvo.

It is by all odds the greatest short speech in the English, or, for aught I know, in any language. To illustrate the breadth of applicability of that wonderful dedication speech, one might paraphrase it with slight omission and no material addition, so as to make Mr. Lincoln himself, who was a great orator—because he was a man of eloquent thought—dedicate to the nation that he loved so well the home in which he was born so humbly.

* * *

Difficult to Dedicate.

Would there, for example, be anything inapposite for the purposes of this occasion in the use of these words: "Seven-score years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged * * * in testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and dedicated, can long endure." We have come to "dedicate" to the nation the birthplace of him who "gave" his "life" that the nation might live.

"But in a large sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow, this ground." The brave and patient man who was born here, by his life and death "has consecrated it far above our poor power to add or to detract." "The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget" * * * "what he did." "It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us" * * * "that from the memory of" this "honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which" he "gave the last measure of devotion; and that we here highly resolve that" he "shall not have lived nor died in vain; that this nation under God shall have" (daily) "a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Suppose that in analyzing the character and results to the two sections of the late war between the States I, the son of a Confederate soldier, were to use this language, which is to be found in Mr. Lincoln's second inaugural address, would it not be a fitting comment for this day and place? "Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and prayed to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other. * * * The prayers of both could not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty had His own purposes."

Again, what a fine exhortation to renewed love between the reunited sections of these once Disunited States would not this language be even now: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives" each "to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in" (and having already bound up the nation's wounds) "do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

My fellow citizens! We call one another fellow citizens now from Maine to Florida and even "where Oregon rolls." We are fellow citizens now and this "indissoluble Union of indestructible States" which all of us so intensely love has been re-established only because, as Lincoln said, "God had purposes of His own." "The stars in their course fought against" the South as they fought of old "against Sisera."

Yet again, pursuing my illustration, all realize the present applicability, with slight verbal alterations, of what Mr. Lincoln said in his first inaugural address: "Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our separate sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this."

"We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though 'passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land," once more "swell the chorus of the Union," as they forever shall "when * * * touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

"The mystic chords of memory!" What a world of potency there is in a phrase! These "mystic chords of memory" are the richest heritage and possession of a great people. The music which is made upon them is sad; but it is embraving, it "holds the heart up higher." It is music in memoriam of "the generous and patriotic spirits" of a country; of "its burled warlike and its wise." It is always well then, by monument and memorial, to keep all worthy memories fresh in the minds of the people—thus inducing each generation to re-think, re-feel and re-live that which was noblest and worthiest in the generations preceding it. Thus we shall have the nation make of its foregone generations "stepping-stones of its dead self" wherefrom to rise "to higher things."

* * *

More Than 110 Years.

The presentation of the Lincoln Farm to the American people takes place a little more than 110 years since Thomas Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln's father, first laid claim to its title.

In March, 1806, Thomas Lincoln, with his bride, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, took possession of a farm on the banks of Nolin Creek, in Larue county, then a part of Hardin county. Here with his own hands Thomas Lincoln put up a cabin, constructed of unhewn logs, the chinks daubed with clay, and in it Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809.

Here during the next nine years he who was to be known as the "Great Emancipator" enjoyed the only real boyhood that ever came to him, for with the removal of Thomas Lincoln with his family to Indiana and later to Illinois many of the burdens of manhood were thrust upon the child's shoulders.

The Lincoln Farm remained in the hands of the family of the first purchaser for about seventy years, although they considered it to be of but little value. Then it was sold to A. W. Dennett, of New York, a wealthy restaurant owner, who purposed to convert it into a public park. Financial reverses made it impossible for him to carry out his intentions.

The farm had constantly declined and presented a woeful scene of neglect and decay. So poor was it that a caretaker into whose hands it was given in consideration of his agreement to pay the taxes was considered by his neighbors to have made a bad bargain, because the land would not produce enough of value to pay the taxes and the value of his labor.

A short time later the little log cabin which Thomas Lincoln had built for his bride, and in which Abraham Lincoln was born, was sold to a traveling showman. He took it about the country, exhibiting it and finally stored the dismembered structure in a cellar, from which it was rescued at the instance of Robert J. Collier, who purchased the showman's claims.

In 1906 Mr. Collier learned that the Lincoln Farm was about to be sold and was in danger of falling into the hands of persons who wished to use it for exploiting their wares, among them being a man with big distilling interests.

He sent Mr. Richard Lloyd Jones to Kentucky to investigate the possibility of acquiring title to the property. Mr. Jones found the farm involved in court proceedings and returned to New York, first instructing local attorneys to notify him when the case was finally adjudicated.

In August of the same year came word that the farm had been ordered sold at auction at the court house door of Larue county. Mr. Jones immediately returned to Kentucky, arriving in Hodgenville somewhat in advance of those most keenly interested in securing the farm for commercial exploitation and it was knocked down to him for $3,600. It was after Mr. Jones' return to New York that the Lincoln cabin was acquired by Mr. Collier.

* * *

Association Organized.

Shortly after Mr. Collier had acquired the Lincoln farm and cabin, the Lincoln Farm Association was organized, to which Mr. Collier deeded the property to be held in trust for the nation.

Joseph W. Folk became president of the organization; Robert J. Collier, vice president and chairman of the executive committee, Clarence H. Mackay, treasurer, and Richard Lloyd Jones, secretary.

The members of the Board of Trustees were: William H. Taft, Joseph H. Choate, Samuel L. Clemens, Cardinal Gibbons, Albert Shaw, Henry Watterson, William Travers Jerome, Lyman J. Gage, Ida M. Tarbell, Charles A. Towne, General Horace Porter, Augustus Saint Gaudens, Norman Hapgood, Edward M. Shepard, August Belmont, Oscar S. Strauss, John A. Johnson, Charles E. Hughes, Samuel Gompers, Augustus E. Willson, William Jennings Bryan, Charles E. Miner and Jenkin Lloyd Jones.

A campaign for funds with which to rear a memorial over the log cabin, on its original site, was then begun and the response was quick and generous. More than 270,000 persons contributed sums ranging from twenty-five cents to $25,000, a total of $383,000 being raised. This response was limited to no one section, men and women of the South coming forward with a readiness equal to that of the citizens of any other section in their desire to pay tribute to the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

On the centenary of Lincoln's birth, February 12, 1909, the cornerstone of the beautiful granite memorial structure was laid by President Theodore Roosevelt. On November 9, 1911, the memorial was dedicated by President Taft.

Within the Lincoln Memorial Hall resting upon its original site is the Lincoln cabin. Surrounding the cabin is a heavy bronze chain, for no one is allowed to enter its portals. The memorial building itself stands at the head of a broad flight of granite steps that lead from an old spring. Over the entrance of the building is inscribed the following: "Here over the log cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born, destined to preserve the union and free the slave, a grateful people have dedicated this memorial to unity, peace and brotherhood among these States."

Upon the walls of the interior are cut the Gettysburg speech and the Lincoln ancestry. Beneath the building is a basement with arrangements for keeping the records of the Association and its roll of membership which includes every contributor of twenty-five cents or more. The memorial building is about a mile from the entrance gates and is reached by a fine winding road. The custodian of the farm lives in an old log farmhouse, nearly as old as the Lincoln cabin itself. The farm itself is divided by a turnpike which leads directly from the square at Hodgenville, where the pedestal of the Lincoln statue by Weinman points the way to Lincoln's birthplace. The road where it passes through the farm is flanked by an old fashioned worm fence, made of rails such as Lincoln himself split.

Williams, Roy H.

Dayton Journal DAYTON, OHIO, TUESDAY, APRIL 30, 1935.

BARRISTERS HONOR JUDGE PATTERSON FOR 18 YEARS OF SERVICE ON BENCH

—Photo by Fawcett

The above shows Judge Robert C. Patterson of the common pleas court, center, receiving a testimonial loving cup from Robert N. Brumbaugh, on the left, attorney, representing the Dayton Bar association. Judge Mason Douglass, on the right, of the common pleas court, represented the bench.

Lawyers Hear Roy H. Williams, Ohio Supreme Court Jurist, Assert That Today the United States Needs an Abraham Lincoln.

Bearing the inscription, "For his fearless and efficient service for 18 years," Judge Robert C. Patterson, of the common pleas court, was given a loving cup by Robert N. Brumbaugh, attorney, who was representing the members of the Dayton Bar association, at a testimonial dinner given for the arbitrator last night at the Miami hotel.

More than 400 attorneys and judges and their wives and guests were in attendance, hearing Roy H. Williams, judge of the supreme court of Ohio, speak on "Abraham Lincoln, the Lawyer and Statesman."

Judge Williams pointed out that Lincoln was a man of many tragedies, burying his mother when he was 9 years old, losing his sweetheart when he was 24 years old, losing a child while he was in the White House and then dying at the hand of an enraged man.

Despite all this, Judge Williams showed that he was a man of "great perseverance and determination." He was a "man of one book;

over

that is, he was the master of one book—the Bible. Through the Bible and Blackstone he was able to be a success, not only from his ability to think, but from the knowledge of his mother tongue.

"He helped build his civilization on the foundation of the home and religion," said Judge Williams, "yet today there is a force under way throughout the world that would blast to utter destruction the home and religion. Today, we need a Lincoln."

Judge Mason Douglass, of the common pleas court, spoke in behalf of the men of the bench, praising Judge Patterson for his "gentleness, sympathy, courage and co-operation exemplified in his work and as a man." Judge Douglass further related that Judge Patterson will carry with him in the years to come the "reputation of service to the community and to his fellow man."

Sidney G. Kusworm, acting as toastmaster, called upon Judge Patterson for his response, in which the common pleas judge who will end his term on the bench July 1, thanked the members of the Dayton Bar association for their co-operation with him.

—MILWAUKEE SENTINEL— —MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1956

Lincoln's Passion for Union Described

Abraham Lincoln's passion for the preservation of the American union enabled him to endure snubs with poise, ridicule with ease, if only he could use the persons who despised him to further the cause of unity.

This attribute of Lincoln was discussed on Lincoln's 147th birthday anniversary Sunday by Dr. T. Harry Williams, history professor at Louisiana State University and a noted Lincoln expert. He spoke at the third annual lecture of Alpha Delta Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, national honorary history fraternity, at Brooks Memorial Union of Marquette University.

The "Great Emancipator" had four principles which he followed, William declared. They were beliefs in a higher law than man's, in man's soul,in the importance of freedom of economic opportunity, and in the union of states.

While the former rail-splitter was kindly, patient and tolerant, William doubted if he was really humble. He recognized his own superiority, Williams believes, subdued self-recognition to the practical consideration of getting others to help him maintain the union.

Williams, T. Harry

Williams, Walton

WITH the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of Abra[illegible] Lincoln, on Feb. 12, [illegible]e are recalled anecdotes of the [illegible]yr president. Incidentaliy on Aprii [illegible]ext it will be just fifty years since Lincoln was assassinated. He died on the day after the fatal shot was fired by John Wilkes Booth in the Ford theater, Washington. The president's last days were full of historic incidents.

From Lincoln's lips t[illegible] First [illegible] Second [illegible] often came were these: [illegible] people." To those who li[illegible] and talked with him, espe[illegible] the civil war, it seem[illegible] never cease thinking

were just human beings, unlettered, unknown, inglorious. A congressman from a western district approached him during his term as president and apologized for presenting a petition from his constituents because they were very common people.

"Well," said Lincoln pleasantly, "God must love the common people, he's made so many of 'em."

Former Senator Chauncey M. Depew of New York relates a story about President Lincoln, says Harper's Weekly. It was apropos of the demand for an immediate strengthening of the United States navy.

"I remember," said the New York millionaire on the floor of the senate, "being in the executive mansion at one time and in Mr. Lincoln's office when a telegram was handed to him which gave the information that a brigadier general, through foolishness of an extreme sort, had been captured down in Virginia. In his command was a long train of pack wagons and mules. Mr. Lincoln read the dispatch; then he took up his pen and said:

" 'With that pen I can make a brigadier general in a minute, but I cannot replace those mules!' "

There is a citizen of Cleveland who can add a very pleasant story to the volume of Lincolniana. He, with his four brothers, all young men, was in the Federal army during the war, and one of the brothers, nineteen years old, after a particularly fierce campaign, found himself in a Washington military haspital.

His mother came from Cleveland to do what she could to aid him. He passed the crisis of his illness safely, and when he was well enough to be moved the mother went to the White House to ask his discharge from the army. She had no letters of introduction, but her simple story was enough. She saw the president, and in his kindly way he questioned her. She told the story of her five soldier boys, and when she had finished he stepped to his desk and wrote an order for the young man's discharge.

"Take that, madam," he said, "and get your boy. Then bring him here. I want to talk with him."

He gave an order to a secretary, the president's carriage was brought round, and the mother rode away to the hospital. Then she and the convalescent youth rode back to the White House, where they dined. Later on the president handed the mother two railroad tickets to Cleveland and a document setting forth that it was his (the president's) wish that the young man should be given a position in the government service whenever he desired it.

For nearly a third of a century that wartime stripling held an excellent office in the treasury department at Washington.

WALTON WILLIAMS.

Albany Telegram
2-14-25

Williams, William

WILLIAMS DELIVERS A TALK ON LINCOLN

William R. Williams, Deputy Superintendent of Schools, addressed members of the Yonkers Burns Club last night in the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Austin and Mr. and Mrs. William R. Mitchell, 87 Colgate Avenue, on "Abraham Lincoln, the Man of the People."

Mr. Williams spoke of Robert Burns, the "plowman poet," who touched the humble things of life and by his imaginations made them stand out, comparing Lincoln with him.

"The year 1809 gave many great men to the world," said Mr. Williams. "Among them were Lord Tennyson, the poet; Darwin, the great scientist; Mendelssohn, the composer; Gladstone, the "Grand Old Man of England" and the Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln," the speaker said.

"The life of Abraham Lincoln was humble and hard, but perhaps because of this humbleness and hardness in the early years he became what he was.

"He had what money could not buy, a good father and a noble mother. They had little of material things to give him, but they endowed him with things more precious than money can buy, indomitable firmness, the power to see the right and to stand by it. There was in him a mighty force to determine and to achieve.

"In his early years," said Mr. Williams, "Lincoln went from failure to failure, only to rise again until the crisis of his country developed his ability to stand out as the man of the age and to give not only to the Negro race their freedom, but to make America what it claimed to be, 'the Land of the Free.'

"Through strife and din, when he was reviled and prosecuted by men, he uttered not one word of bitterness. It is known that Mr. Lincoln never used the word 'Rebel.' It was always the 'Confederates' or 'Our Friends on the Other Side,' and in the end the Union was saved and his life blood was the seal of the Union."

YONKERS N Y HERALD
FEBRUARY 12, 1930

Willis Sen. of Ohio

LINCOLN IMMORTAL BECAUSE HE WAS A MAN, SAYS SOLON

(Associated Press)

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13.—It was not Lincoln's accomplishments as a member of congress and as president that made him immortal, but what he was as a man, Senator Willis of Ohio, said today at a ceremony sponsored by the military order of the Loyal Legion of the United States on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

"Because of Lincoln's clear thinking, courage, sincerity and honesty, and above all his deep religious faith," the senator said, 'his memory will never die."

Memorial wreaths afterwards were laid under the portico of the memorial by representatives of the Loyal Legion, the Red Cross, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Sons of Union Veterans and other patriotic organizations.

2/13/1928

Willis, Raymond E.

Willis, Raymond E.

Lincoln and the Fifth Freedom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH A. BUTLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 15, 1943

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able address which it has been my privilege to read, delivered by the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS]. The address

Congressional Record
2/15/43

is entitled, "Lincoln and the Fifth Freedom," and was delivered before the Alexander Hamilton Club at Baltimore, Md., on Friday evening, February 12, 1943.

There being no objection the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Alexander Hamilton Club, the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln is being celebrated with new heights of respect tonight in hundreds of American communities. There is a particular symbolism in your meeting here which makes me doubly proud of the honor of your invitation.

One might conclude—too hastily—that there is something paradoxical about a tribute to Abraham Lincoln, a great commoner, by a group named in memory of Alexander Hamilton, a great aristocrat. Upon reflection, however, the veil of that paradox is lifted; and we behold, in glorious symbolism, the true source of the greatness of a great nation. America's greatness is not equivalent to that of Hamilton alone, any more than it is to the greatness of Lincoln alone. It is the fact that the Nation's greatness stems from the greatness of both Hamilton and Lincoln and of hundreds of others that causes our hearts to beat with pride in the past, and with hope for the future. For it reassures us in a conviction which is the most justifiable and steadfast conviction we can hold: that the temperament of this Nation has never been and must never become confused with the temperament of any one man.

The name of Hamilton has been traditionally contrasted with that of Jefferson (whose 200th anniversary we mark this year), but it is interesting to compare and to contrast Lincoln with both Jefferson and Hamilton.

Hamilton believed in concentrated powers, Jefferson in diffused powers. Lincoln believed both to be necessary and that both must be kept in well-defined relationship. Lincoln's Civil War objective never degenerated into anything beneath the primary objective of preserving a strong Federal Union. In that respect he was comparable to Hamilton. But he insisted that the bricks of strong Federal union could be held firmly together only by the cement of the safeguarded rights of a free people sacredly conserved. In that respect he was comparable to Jefferson.

Hamilton feared anarchy and thought in terms of order. Jefferson feared tyranny and thought in terms of liberty. Certainly Lincoln, here again, reflected the characteristics of both. He wanted the strength of Hamilton's order, but only to safeguard Jefferson's liberty.

Lincoln, from the standpoint of chronology, was closer to Jefferson. He was a young man of 17 when Jefferson died. Hamilton had been dead 5 years when Lincoln was born.

And yet, for all of Lincoln's eternal respect for the Jeffersonian concept of widespread liberty and of the equality of all human souls, he yielded nothing to Hamilton in his insistence that society's wheel required a hub of strong centralization if the spokes of decentralized liberty were to be held together and enable the whole structure to roll irresistibly forward over the ruts and rocks that lay ahead.

The wheel is still holding together. Certainly this is not the time, if it is to stay in one piece, to attack the hub of strong Federal Government. But neither is this the time to halt its necessary progress by tearing out the spokes of our liberties!

Our Nation was forged in the heat of difficult conflict—conflict between the partisans of Hamilton, on the one hand, and the partisans of Jefferson on the other. It was held together by Lincoln because he resolved that conflict in his own mind; he did not choose to dispense with either centralized power or decentralized liberty; he chose to preserve both.

That was the biggest job that faced Lincoln. It is for the masterful way he did that job that we owe him the biggest debt of gratitude.

One other comparison is worthy of note: Hamilton never left the United States, but wanted to transplant to these shores certain aspects of the European culture; Jefferson knew Europe at first hand, but wanted none of it; Lincoln, like Hamilton, never left the United States—and, like Jefferson and Washington, was completely satisfied with America.

Lincoln's greatest problem, however, is still with us. Seeing the present war through to a successful conclusion—and that is America's supreme task today—requires not only that we maintain a strong Federal Government, but also that we safeguard the liberty under which our free people may freely express their own free thought and purpose. Only thus will the strongest Federal Government we have ever set up find it impossible to twist the fruits of the people's victory into something wholly alien to our real purpose in fighting the war.

Lincoln made his people feel that their own personal destinies were interwoven with the outcome of the Civil War. Their destinies remained more important, in his mind, than the numerous pet theories that were urged upon him by some of those who thought those pet ideas more important than getting the war over. In his first message to Congress, Lincoln said: "I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle." We must be just as anxious and just as careful today. We cannot tolerate for an instant the doctrine that we are now engaged in a revolution which must change the whole pattern of America. Neither can we subscribe to that doctrine that to wage this war successfully we must adopt totalitarian processes of government.

Those whom Lincoln rebuked were more interested in emphasizing what is vaguely called in modern language "winning the peace" than they were in prosecuting the war. But, by taking the common people into his confidence, Lincoln gave no indication that he entertained post-war objectives which were any different than those the people understood and desired.

And again today, only the war aims on which the people are united deserve to be reflected in the decisions of their Government. Not only because they have placed their full faith and trust in their chosen officials, but also because from the humblest laborer to the most efficient executive they have contributed their talents and their energy to assembling and equipping a powerful Army and Navy in the incredibly record-breaking time of little more than a single year. In addition to this contribution of talent and energy and time and comfort, the people have made another great contribution; they have contributed irrefutable evidence of the validity of a philosophy. They have contributed indisputable evidence of the speed and efficiency and dependability of the philosophy of freedom of enterprise. How ironically unjust it would be if the fruit of a success won by the genius of free enterprise were to be no more than the stinging death penalty for that very freedom of enterprise!

We have heard of snatching victory from the jaws of defeat. But to lose the very thing which made us successful would be to snatch defeat from the grinning jaws of victory!

Even worse, it would be to repudiate our bond with the millions of brave soldiers and sailors who, whether in the malaria-infested jungles of Guadalcanal, in the dangerous mountain passes of Tunisia, sailing the icy convoy routes of the Arctic, or dodging the hostile submarine packs in the Atlantic or southern Pacific, are bringing immortal tribute to the bravery of a wholly free citizenship. The sons of America of 1943 have set a new all-time high in the annals of courage and patriotism. They are going to win the war for us on the far-flung battle fronts. Their deeds impress our very souls with our obligation to preserve for them the kind of country and the kind of government to which they may return and rediscover the blessings of their tremendous sacrifices.

I presume, then, we are agreed that Americans have no desire for a strong Federal Government, unless it is also a free Federal Government. America's inborn abhorrence of dictatorship knows no preference as between the dictatorship of fascism, of nazism, or of communism. We have learned that American abhorrence of dictatorship also includes resentment of the iron-fist aspects of new dealism, which has come to mean American hatred of dictatorship by bureaucracy. Surely that rebuke was expressed in most emphatic terms on the 3d of last November.

I have no desire, at this time when national unity is so essential, to impute to our President any base motives, but I do believe it is time to raise a warning to the American people that the controls of free citizenship are being needlessly stretched thin, and that precedents are being set up, which in the presence of an acute emergency, real or assumed, or in the hands of an executive of evil designs, could easily be used to supplant our form of free government.

We have learned that when an executive says that Congress must do something "or else," or that he will find ways of acting without congressional sanction, that is the essence of dictatorship.

We have learned that when the Executive limits salaries to $25,000 a year in a manner repudiated by Congress—that is dictatorship.

We have learned that when a bureau places a price ceiling on corn, or sets a price on wheat, in clear violation of a congressional law—that is dictatorship.

We have learned that when the Treasury Department applies a 5-percent pay-roll tax to 1942 income which Congress specifically ordered applied only to 1943 income—that is dictatorship.

We have learned that when departments of Government spend huge sums of money without appropriation by Congress, sometimes on projects specifically overruled by Congress—that is dictatorship.

We have learned the when the Executive shackles the Nation more and more securely to his socialistic schemes by placing in more and more key positions those "dead ducks" whom the voters repudiated at the polls—that smacks of dictatorship.

We have learned that when executives within an administration take men who have been removed from office by congressional insistence because of their revolutionary philosophies, and then put them right back to work in another department, sometimes with an increase in salary—that is dictatorship.

We have learned that when men who are living off the people's money, sometimes even in the uniform of one of the armed forces, are permitted publicly to ridicule the Congress of the United States, the last bulwark of the people's freedom—then that is dictatorship.

And we have learned that when bureaucrats are confronted with our knowledge of their violations of law, and when they answer, "So what?"—then that certainly is dictatorship.

These are only a slight percent of the evidences of the new dictatorship by bureaucracy. As Senator TAFT said the other day,

and as no one can help seeing on every hand: "There is no doubt * * * that the administration has deliberately sought power much greater than required for the war, to extend regulation of business and individuals after the war. * * * But the end of the war is an indefinite time, and Congress must end these powers, not when the administration says the war is over but when the end of the war has, in fact, occurred."

That may remind you of the story, if you have heard it, of the man who was asked how he was getting along under wartime restrictions. He replied, "Well, it ain't the wartime restrictions that bother me—it's this 'duration' stuff. Looks like the duration's gonna last longer than the war."

Meanwhile, we don't want to lose sight of the fact that dictatorship by the Executive, and dictatorship by bureaucracy are not two two separate things. Eighty-one bureaus merely give the President 83 hands. And this vast network of executive bureaus, ruling by decree, are merely a smoke screen behind which the processes of dictatorship can function with less apparent shock to our American system of free government.

During the last 10 years (January 1, 1933, to December 9, 1942) no less than 3,556 Executive orders have been issued, many of which, drafted in the bureaus, have had the effect of law and thus have substituted the will of appointed bureau chiefs for the will of the duly established branch of the Government which was elected to make the laws. I haven't the time to review the scope of these orders, save to say that they range from the killing of little pigs and clipping the cuffs off trousers to the assumption of the right, without an act of Congress, to control the jobs of American citizens in 32 areas. Neither have I the time to discuss this wide range of the political and economic impact of these orders—you'd be surprised. This, however, is most significant, that during the same 10 years, when bureaucrats were passing 3,556 laws of their own, the duly authorized law-passing body of Congress enacted only 4,300 laws. Actually, the people's affairs have been regulated through the past 10 years more by bureaucratic than by legislative procedure. On the basis of the rate of increase of administrative directives in the past 14 months, one is justified in the conclusion that in the proper slogan of our country today is not "make the world safe for democracy," but rather "make America safe from bureaucracy."

I hold no brief for a complacent Congress which permitted such a situation to develop. Rather, I call the attention of the country to the remedy which they have for such an intolerable situation if free government is to continue—the remedy they applied in a liberal dose on the 3d of last November.

On still another front does the maintenance of free government call for increased vigilance on the part of Congress and of the people whom Congress represents. Article II, section II, of the Constitution provides that the President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

Probably at no time in this Nation's history have so many treaties been concluded in the name of the United States as in recent years, and even in recent months. And certainly there have never been so many treaties bearing so directly upon the welfare of this Nation in the years immediately ahead. Yet, the vast majority of them—and certainly the most important of them—have not been even submitted to the Senate for its consent, as required by the Constitution. Nor has the Senate been requested to give its consent prior to the drawing up of such treaties, as is also required by the Constitution. Nor has the Senate been asked for its advice on such treaties—although that, too, is required by the Constitution. Those Members of Congress who are sometimes called to the White House to discuss a decision of foreign policy do not represent a cross-section of the people's thinking, but are almost always hand-picked to reflect and echo only the President's philosophy.

Thus, also, is the explicit intent and provision of the Constitution regarding the treaty-making power obviously circumvented by the President. The regrettable results which such a practice is certain to yield are obvious. Our unhappy experience with treaties at the conclusion of the previous World War—unhappy because of the failure of President Wilson to take the Senate into his counsel—is so recent that surely a prudent man will take precaution against a like consequence. The people's determination to return to constitutional procedure is abundantly evident. Therefore, sooner or later—and probably sooner—the Congress will insist upon at least the "consent" part of its prerogative where treaties are concerned.

The administration, of course, hopes again to build such a huge superstructure of commitments throughout the world that the Senate will not dare to pull it apart for fear of producing chaos. That is the technique of a little girl whose mother has forbidden her to bring two or three little friends home from school. She thinks if she brings the whole class, her mother will not make a scene by sending all of them home. The little girl has acted too rashly. She has failed to anticipate the increased embarrassment she will experience when her mother makes her warning stick. Nor have the unofficial treaty-makers adequately anticipated the increased embarrassment that would be theirs as a result of having gone on a world-wide spending spree with someone else's promises—which are not theirs to spend without the endorsement of the Senate.

Neither in this case do I have any brief for the Congress which attempts to delegate its constitutional powers to the Executive. Under our form of government power stems only from the people. An unfulfilled power can only be returned to the people. There is no authority by which one branch of our government can delegate its granted powers to another branch of the government—to do so is a perversion of trust; it is a violation of the sacred oath which every official has taken, to uphold the Constitution.

We should also keep in mind that there can be no such thing as a military dictator under our Constitution. The President is the Commander in Chief of our Army and Navy in its military fields. The Congress is charged with the responsibility of raising and supplying an army in the civilian fields. There is no legal foundation under the American Constitution by which any one of the three coordinate branches of our government may seize and exercise the functions of another branch. Presumptuous charges dictate military plans.

Today we need a reaffirmation of that faith which Lincoln had in the well-wrought-out judgment of the common people. On that saddest of Easter mornings, with the last feeble heart flutter which released the immortal soul of Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Stanton, his Secretary of War, standing at his bedside, spoke this simple tribute: "Now he belongs to the ages."

Secretary Stanton first knew Lincoln to scoff at him, then to wonder over his patience and wisdom, and now to recognize his genius as immortal. Stanton moved from doubt, through understanding, to praise—because he recognized that Lincoln's power rested upon his steadfast reliance in the wisdom of the great body of people who comprised a free country.

Let us lay hold now upon that lesson, let us rediscover that our Government will never go far astray if it gives heed to the calm judgment of the people. Today, the American people have one supreme purpose in their share in this ghastly World War: They believe they are fighting for freedom and the safety of their homes and their country. They know that America has no right to be called a free country unless its people are willing to fight to the last breath to preserve that freedom. To that high purpose, they are willing to sacrifice ease and opportunity and life itself—as Lincoln gave his life. The millions of boys who march willingly and unflinchingly to every part of the world testify to that love of freedom, and the sacrifices and hardships we accept at home bear testimony to that same noble purpose: That it is better to choose death than to lose freedom.

The great body of American people desire that victory, in the name of freedom, shall be decisive—and they believe it cannot be decisive until our enemies are subdued and disarmed.

If I judge the American people correctly, they intend that this Nation shall continue permanently to maintain an Army, Navy, and air force strong enough to defend our safety and our freedom as long as there is anyone who can challenge those blessings. If there be nations with like purpose, in which we can have confidence, we shall share that responsibility with them in mutual compact.

The great body of the American people, today, as always, believe in the four fundamental freedoms—freedom of speech, of worship, from want and fear, together with a fifth freedom. There is a wide difference of opinion as to our duty and ability to enforce those freedoms everywhere in the world, but not in our desire that every nation may, for itself, enjoy these freedoms, through their voluntary acceptance of them. Nor shall we refuse to do our fair share toward an intelligent adjustment of world political and economic conditions among all nations. I do not believe, however, that the people of America will be willing to pool our God-given resources, our own markets for our own products, our jobs, our superior standard of living, our immigration quotas, nor any of our political or cultural ideals, with all other nations in the vain hope of making everybody happy by sharing each other's misery. I do not believe that the people of America will ever again permit our supply of rubber to depend upon the peace of remote corners of the world, but will establish our own permanent supply on this continent.

We know that the people of America will never consent to place the hand of the Goddess of Liberty in marriage with the devotees of dictatorship, anywhere in the world.

I spoke a moment ago about the fifth freedom in which the people of America believe and which we have come near to losing in these later days, and that is the freedom from dependency. He only is free who calls no man master nor looks to any sovereign for succor. Because he enjoyed that freedom, the pathway of Abraham Lincoln led from the log cabin to the White House, as it has for many others in America. Because of that freedom Henry Ford, from a little alley machine shop, rose to be a giant in industry. Because of it, Irving Berlin—a poor, half-starved Jewish boy—sang his way into the hearts of millions of Americans. By it George Washington Carver, who knew not the date of his birth nor even his parentage, grew from slavery and ignorance to be one of God's interpreters of his richest remedies for needy and suffering humanity. And because of freedom from dependency, millions of Americans have grown from obscurity to fame and have brought countless blessings to prove that America is the land of whosoever will because they could say, "I was born free."

My fellow citizens, we have a community of interest, a common responsibility, and a common opportunity—not as Republicans or Democrats—but as Americans, to preserve

Willis, Raymond E.

Willis, Raymond E

1943 CONGR

this great system of free government. By the help of God, the boys who survive this great war are going to come back to that kind of a country.

Willis, Raymond E.

Willis Says Freedom For Which Lincoln Died Again In Danger

News Sentinel 2/13/39

"WHAT a pity it is that the world is torn with hate and passion; that class is arrayed against class when all that this world needs in solving its international and inter-racial problems is just the art of being kind—the spirit of toleration of Abraham Lincoln," Raymond E. Willis, of Angola, candidate for United States Senator at the last election, said in an address on "Abraham Lincoln's Political and Philosophical Ideas," delivered under the auspices of the Sunday Evening Club at the Wayne Street Methodist Episcopal Church Sunday evening.

"Lincoln's life was full of hardships compared with today's great privileges," he continued. "He never saw a kerosene lamp until he was a full grown man; he never saw an electric light; he never saw an electric car; a radio, an automobile, an airplane, or any of the conveniences which we think we have to have now days. He didn't have a high school or a college education; he never joined a college fraternity, but he had what it takes. He had reverence for his Maker, for his mother, he loved his country with a great passion. He was loyal; he was honest. He had the will to succeed. He did not find fault in the difficult situation in which he was placed, but made the best of the opportunities at his disposal. He had a sense of sympathy and humor and of toleration. He had the art of just being kind to folks.

Blessings Of A Free Country.

"Now, all of these qualities would make of anyone a great man, but with them all he had the greatest of all blessings—that of living in a free country, and with the help and protection of this great country, he rose to heights which no other man has attained.

"I have just presented some of the simple characteristics of the life of Abraham Lincoln. Was he inspired? Yes, he was inspired by great men and great thoughts, as his life inspires us. But I want to say to every boy and girl and man and woman in this country that anyone can rise to great heights with the same substantial qualities of character and under the blessings of the same Government which Lincoln enjoyed.

Freedom Is In Danger.

"I want to bring this lesson, too. This freedom for which Lincoln died is again in danger—and it is in danger because we are neglecful of our responsibilities. The country is again threatened by division—not division of geographical lines, but the division into classes, each striving for special advantages. Our country is in danger today because of the implantation of ideas from foreign lands which are contrary to a free government. The freedom of our citizenship is beig robbed when men are being made dependent upon government. The end of the road leads to communism and state socialism.

"There is danger today from being involved in the affairs of nations across the sea unless we heed the advice of Washington and Lincoln that we should refrain from any entangling alliances. We must not attempt to tell the nations across the seas how they shall run their governments unless we are willing to back that interference with force."

Mr. Willis was introduced by Arthur K. Remmel, president of the Sunday Evening Club. Among those who took part in the discussion were David Hogg, Dr. E. Burns Martin, Roy Welty, Clyde A. Walb and Robert B. Hanna.

Wilkie, Wendell L.

ARY 13, 1941 Boston Daily Globe

Text of Willkie Address

NEW YORK, Feb. 12 (AP)—The text of Wendell L. Willkie's Lincoln Day address tonight follows:

Frequently in the last several years when I've had to visit Washington as all people must these days, when the smoke has gotten too thick and the conversation too heavy at night, I've climbed into a car and I've driven past the Washington Monument and Lincoln's Memorial and on out to Arlington to the home of Robert E. Lee. Here lie the men irrespective of politics that all American hearts turn to as the three great figures of our public life and the qualities that make them the heroes of this country are as much a compliment to the people of this country as they are to the men themselves. And the three of them had one common quality. And that was the quality of magnanimity.

George Washington said that without more tolerance for the views of others, this nation cannot survive. Robert E. Lee said "although I've fought the North because I thought it was seeking to take from us our most cherished right I have never seen the night that I have not prayed for the people of the North."

Abraham Lincoln said "with malice toward none, with chairty toward all."

Caught a Real Faith

Abraham Lincoln's whole career was to build of these United States a united country. Eighty years ago tonight Abraham Lincoln, on his way to be inaugurated as President, was traveling across my home state of Indiana to make a speech in Cincinnati that night. He had lived in that state 25 years before as a boy and I think that we all can see him now—that simple soul, that great mind, that man who could love even though he fought and knew how to fight without vindictiveness, we can see him now the great brooding figure praying somehow that through these difficult times a united America would arise and save us in this world of turmoil.

Party Government in U. S.

This thing of party government in the United States follows a fairly simple pattern: parties in the United States are born in times of great crisis and struggle—perhaps sometimes they are reborn in such periods. The first two political parties were the Federalist and the Democratic party—or as then was called the Republican party. And they grew out of the struggles and the necessary problems in connection with the establishment of our government.

And then in the time of Andrew Jackson there arose the Whig party—a party of opposition—a party of negation, a party that offered no other program to Jackson's except that Jackson was wrong, and existed some 25 years and then a great moral issue arose in America and because the Whig party found nothing in that issue except compromise, except the adoption of cliches, except the playing of local prejudices, it passed away and in its place in the struggle for freedom came the Republican party.

We were founded to preserve freedom—that was the reason for us coming into being.

And if we will but remember that we cannot fail. But if we become like the Whig party—merely the party of negation, merely the party of opposition, merely those who find fault and who in one of the critical moments of history find nothing nobler to do than compromise—this great party will pass from the scene.

And I'm here to speak to you tonight to challenge you to a higher destiny than the destiny of compromise and negation and failure and death.

Opportunity for G. O. P.

I doubt if in the history of parties any party had such a golden opportunity as presents itself to the Republican party tonight. Where is the Republican that doesn't want to meet the challenge?

If the Republican party now tonight and tomorrow and the next day begins to preach a positive doctrine; if we begin to say here are free men like ourselves struggling to preserve themselves; here is a war that will determine the course of American history; here is a war that the outcome of which will determine whether or not the standard of living of every man in the world will be raised or lowered; here is an international situation that by reason of its very chaos offers the opportunity to America for world leadership—these can follow this war, not alone an economic system in America but an economic system throughout the world that will offer to all men a fuller life than has ever been known or ever can be achieved within the narrow limits of any nation.

Look back across the pages of history. Any ideology, any belief, any religion, any system of government or of life that begins to contract and to narrow itself begins to die.

And yet we have the opportunity if we but adequately and immediately give to those fighting men of Britain merely the equipment with which they can win. We can make of democracy not a blind doctrine but an expanding doctrine and we can be the arbitrators, we can be the dictators, we can be the ones who determine that there shall be a peace where all men will have the right to live under freedom and not under slavery.

New Deal Methods Assailed

There is a party in power, a party not the Democratic party—the New Deal party—without faith in people because its idea of winning elections and controlling votes is by the method of government pressures and expenditures.

Here we are. We know what the international situation is. We know the necessities of a program to save those fighting men. People of the Republican party, I give to you this challenge in the year 1941: Have we the vision? Have we the ability? Have we the leadership to take America down this glorious path that's offered to us?

I have no doubt that we have.

Willkie De[illegible] Lincoln's Fight to Save Nation

Members of the Indiana general assembly, in joint session Thursday, heard a Lincoln day address by Wendell L. Willkie, native Hoosier. The text follows:

On numerous occasions and under many varied circumstances I have had the privilege of speaking in my native state of Indiana. I left the state more by one of those early coincidences than by design. I find myself returning more and more frequently as the years pass and the afternoon shadows begin to lengthen. But I can say I have never felt more signally honored than to be invited at this particular time, when the world has again been plunged into a ghastly and appalling war, to address the legislature of the state of Indiana on the birthday celebration of Abraham Lincoln.

Indiana shares with her neighboring states of Kentucky and Illinois the credit for giving to the world this figure of peace and humanity, who presided over an earlier period of death and destruction. It was here that Abraham Lincoln, in penury and privation, passed his formative years; here that he broke through the ineffectual dreaming that had baffled and retarded his father, and awoke to the realities of men and life and government; here that he obtained virtually all of his meager schooling, read Aesop, Bunyan, Defoe and Benjamin Franklin; here that he felt his first great grief, from the loss of his mother. About her we know little, but her influence on the young lad who accompanied her into the deep woods and tangled undergrowth of Spencer county, will be felt as long as this nation, or any nation interested in the humanities and the welfare of the common man, abides.

Campaigned in State

Indiana had many other associations with Lincoln over the period of nearly half a century; his tramps of fifteen miles to attend court in the Warrick county seat at Boonville, which stirred his first interest in the law; his campaigning in the southern counties for Henry Clay in the spirited contest of 1844, marking his widening interest in politics; his reunions with old friends of the Gentryville neighborhood, freshening his memories of early Indiana incidents and pioneer lore, which formed the basis for so many of the later anecdotes, by which he could solve the perplexing problems of politics and government by reducing them to the simple analogies of the frontier. It was in this city of Indianapolis that he delivered his first address en route to his inauguration in Washington, when civil war was casting its grim shadow across the land, and here his body rested in state while the stricken people paid their final homage on the last sad journey back to Springfield. Not last among this state's associations with this great man was that upwards of 200,000 sons of Indiana answered his call and served on scores of battlefields in the armies of the Union.

Many times on trips I have made to Washington, and often when exhausted after the work of the day, I have gone out to visit the stately white memorial, where the gentle, brooding figure of Abraham Lincoln looks out upon the Capitol of the nation he gave his energies, his noble talents, and at last his life, to preserve. However extensively you may have read about Lincoln, or however detailed may have been your studies of his career, I believe that you who have had this experience of visiting this shrine at the nation's capital, will treasure it as your nearest approach to the personality and spirit of Lincoln the man, Lincoln the common citizen, Lincoln the benevolent friend of the oppressed. Here, the sculptor and architect have achieved the highest expression of their arts, for in this shrine, those who designed and created it are forgotten. One stands alone in the presence of Lincoln, who seems almost to reach out and touch you with something of his humanitarianism, his humility and faith.

Memorial to Lincoln

Our nation, in and near its capital city, has fittingly honored its great men. Rising toward the sky is the imposing shaft to Washington. Lincoln was present at the notable exercises of July 4, 1848, when the cornerstone of the Washington monument was laid. At that time, after an inauspicious term in the house of representatives, it appeared to Lincoln that his political career was at an end. No man then living could have remotely dreamed that the rather seedy looking congressman from the back country would some day have his massive likeness gazing out upon the completed monument to the father of our country, where it will remain as long as stone and granite last. Across the Potomac, at Arlington, rises the white pillared home of Robert E. Lee, a great American now revered and universally respected because of the fineness of his character and the chivalrous manner in which he waged his resourceful warfare. Work still progresses in Washington on the Jefferson Memorial showing faith, in this hour of world conflict, that American independence, of which he wrote the bold declaration, will endure. About the city are a profusion of other monuments and memorials.

Proud as the American may be before any of these symbols of honor and veneration to our outstanding men and women of the past, most of us, I believe, feel the warmest surge of sympathy and understanding when we face this magnificent likeness of Lincoln. If we could call back out of their silent sleep one of our nation's great, for the privilege of counsel and an evening's association, the large majority of us, I feel sure, would rather talk with Lincoln.

Why has Abraham Lincoln won a place so close to the heart of the American people? It is, I believe, because of the magnanimity of his character. War did not embitter or harden him. Repeated defeat did not break his firm spirit nor crush his compassion and forgiveness. Mankind has struggled through a countless succession of wars, with all their pageantry and pomp and glory, and all their brutality and lust. Great leaders have come and gone, conquerors have marched their hosts back and forth across the continents. Only occasionally through the centuries do men like Lincoln appear, who raise themselves above the hatreds of their day and give to the future some hope that out of justice and understanding and mercy and high purpose mankind may find some means at last for the realization of its greatest aspiration, the preservation of enduring peace. He had, in truth, malice toward none.

"I have not suffered by the South," he stated. "I have suffered with the South."

I believe the American people, in their thoughts of him, unconsciously follow his own wishes, when he said:

"I hope it will be said of me, when I am gone, by those who care for me, by those who love me most, that I never allowed an opportunity to pass where I could pluck a thistle and plant a flower where I thought a flower would grow."

Human Qualities

Lincoln has won a place close to the heart of the American people because through all his greatness, through statesmanship of the highest quality, through his endless perseverance and his almost superhuman patience, through all the bigness and strength of his character, we can still see and feel the simple human qualities very much like those possessed by you and me. Lincoln is for me nevertheless about the only human who has measured up to the specifications of Kipling's well-known poem, "If." He could have dignified kings by his presence, yet he would have remained the simple, homely citizen—the lank humorist, if you will—of the prairies.

And his dealings with men disclosed no trace of vanity or jealousy. There was no room in his great character for harboring resentments. He immersed himself in the cause of the Union and detached from it any considerations as to his own fortunes. His standing in the face of shifting public sentiment, his reputation, prestige, his place in history, were altogether subservient to the immediate requirements of the public welfare. He could wipe the slate clean of past indignities, as long as he received fidelity to the Union cause in return. There are numerous examples which illustrate this point. One is the case of Edwin M. Stanton, the brusque and energetic secretary of war. Stanton was one of Lincoln's most severe critics in the early stages of the conflict. It was he who coined the description of Lincoln as the "big baboon." Lincoln's memory might have harkened back to the cavalier and humiliating treatment given him some years earlier by Stanton, when the two happened to be among counsel associated in the McCormick reaper case, which came to trial in Cincinnati.

Faith in Stanton

Lincoln, it may be recalled, was contemptuously not allowed to present the argument he had prepared so carefully. Because of the shortness of his trousers and his rather shabby, backwoods appearance, he was not even permitted to dine or walk to court with the eminent attorneys, although he suggested, in the friendly fashion of the prairies that "we go up in a gang." In Lincoln's campaign for the presidency, Stanton assailed him viciously on the personal grounds of his manners and character, as well as on the grounds of his capacity and intelligence. The ordinary individual would have been deeply rankled and unforgivingly offended. Yet Lincoln had faith in Stanton's integrity, his power and his unyielding devotion to the nation's cause. He was generous enough to admire Stanton's reasoning faculties, even in the Cincinnati argument, from which he was himself excluded. So Stanton was selected as his secretary of war, and despite some shortcomings, became in that office, through his industry and perseverence, one of the principal instruments for the preservation of the Union.

Lincoln was magnanimous to high degree in his attitude toward his secretary of the treasury, Chase. Chase, as all the world knew, was scheming to unseat Lincoln by winning the Republican presidential nomination of 1864 for himself. The reaction of the average executive would have been to oust him from the cabinet without compunction or delay. Chase's machinations were clearer to Lincoln than to any one else, yet he merely laughed and told his secretary, John Hay, that the matter didn't annoy him, although his friends insisted that it ought to. He told Hay he had determined to shut his eyes to Chase's performances; that Chase made a good secretary, and that he would keep him where he was.

"If he becomes President," said Lincoln, "all right; I hope the country may never have a worse man."

Something of this same freedom from pique and pride was disclosed when Chase visited Springfield in the period between Lincoln's election and inauguration. One of Lincoln's friends met him and then told Lincoln not to put him in the cabinet, because, in the friend's words, "he thinks he is a great deal bigger than you are." Lincoln inquired whether the friend knew any other men who thought they were bigger than he was, "because," he added, "I want to put them all in my cabinet."

Democracy's Guardian

Lincoln's task was to safeguard democracy from itself; he had to determine whether a free people could grow strong, and exert a world influence for justice and liberty, without being rent and parted by internal dissent which arose out of conflicting concepts as to the measure of freedom and independent action that should be enjoyed. As he put it, "We must settle this question now, whether, in a free government, the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose. If we fail, it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves."

The war today is an assault against democracy on a different front. This war is an effort by autocracy, and we hope the final effort, to stamp out all vestiges of democratic rule, and to revert the world to reliance upon, and humble obedience to, the individual leader who can regiment and marshal peoples as he may choose. Democracy today faces a supreme test by attack from without. It is the old governmental concept of "I, the State," challenging the new, American concept of "We, the People." If we fail in this trial, centuries of progress toward the achievement of human freedom will be lost.

We can take faith, in this present conflict, out of the inspiration and guidance offered us by Lincoln. Lincoln hated warfare as keenly as we hate it, but when he met it, he did not flinch or hesitate. He fought it, in the words of Hay, "like a backwoods Jupiter." Yet it is not as a Jupiter that we think of him, as we pay homage to him each year. It is as a figure of peace and humanity, who rose above the bitterness of conflict, and sought out of war only the means by which he might accomplish some great and lasting good.

Willkie, Wendell

News Sentinel

10 Feb 11

Take Faith From Lincoln Says Willkie

Address To Legislature To Be Followed By Talk To GOP Women.

INDIANAPOLIS, Feb. 11. (AP)—Wendell L. Willkie told the Indiana Legislature today at a special Lincoln Day session that "we can take faith, in this present conflict, out of the inspiration and guidance offered us by Lincoln."

Willkie, the 1940 Republican presidential candidate, came from New York to his native state for two Lincoln Day addresses, one to the Legislature and the other before the Indianapolis Women's Republican Club tonight.

His address to the Legislature was devoted mostly to a eulogy of Lincoln who, he said, won a place close to the hearts of the American people "because of the magnanimity of his character."

Willkie said Lincoln's task in the war between the states, "was to safeguard democracy from itself."

"The war today," Willkie said, "is an assault against democracy on a different front. This war is an effort by autocracy, and we hope the final effort, to stamp out all vestiges of democratic rule, and to revert the world to reliance on, and humble obedience to, the individual leader who can regiment and marshal peoples as he may choose.

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"We can take faith, in this present conflict, out of the inspiration and guidance offered us by Lincoln. Lincoln hated warfare as keenly as we hate it, but when he met it he did not flinch or hesitate. He fought it, in the words of Hay (John Hay, Lincoln's secretary) 'like a backwoods Jupiter.' Yet it is not as a Jupiter that we think of him, as we pay homage to him each year. It is a figure of peace and humanity, who rose above the bitterness of conflict and sought out of war only the means by which he might accomplish some great and lasting good."

the Union.

Willkie, Wendell

Willkie Accuses The Democrats

Tacoma, Wash. (AP)—Wendell Willkie has accused the Democratic administration with fostering disunity on the home front.

In a Lincoln Day banquet address here last night he warned:

"We cannot survive as a nation divided against itself. The penalty of disunity is as heavy today as it was in Lincoln's time. Indeed, it may well be greater."

The 1940 Republican nominee, who told a Baker, Ore., ralroad station group informally Wednesday night that he expected to be his parparty's standard bearer, climaxed his Pacific Northwest visit with four speeches here last night. He goes to California from here to be a guest of Gov. Earl Warren, who has been mentioned as a possibility in the national Republican race.

"If the Republican party is elected in 1944," he said in one extemporaneous talk, "and if in 1952 the head of that party gets illusions of his indispensability, throw him out! And I don't care who he is. Human nature is such that you must not entrust too much power to one man for too long."

The Republican leader told the Lincoln Day banquet audience, in a nationally broadcast address (CBS):

"We need a new leader—a leader who does not hold in his hmind bitor triumphant memories of past conflicts; a leader who does not think a nation as made up of groups of people who can be played against each other to insure his continuing power; a leader who recognizes that all groups are an essential part of America; a leader with malice toward none."

the Union.

THE MOST BELOVED AMERICAN

THE whole nation is asking the question: "Who will be the Republican Party's candidate for President?" It was not so many years ago that a man of humble pioneer birth, born in a log cabin, learning to read by candle-light, his main primer the Bible, was called on by the nominating committee of the Republican Party. You may remember the scene which John Drinkwater gives us in his "Abraham Lincoln"—a typical mid-Victorian hotel sitting-room lined by heavy walnut furniture with horsehair covering, a what-not in the corner filled with gadgets and bric-a-brac, in the center a bow-legged black marble-topped table with knobs on its knees—a room where dusty curtains breathed an atmosphere of stuffiness and shabby respectability. Have you seen that illustrated history of the Civil War full of tin-type pictures of our heroes of the '60's? If so, you know how that quaint committee appeared—four sober gentlemen whose whiskers trailed upon their long black coats. They wore unpressed circular stove-pipe trousers which seemed somehow meant to connect their knee-length coats with square-toed shoes. They softened their authority by deference, as they doffed furry beavers. Only by the traction on the faded Brussels carpet could the solemn committee of four keep their seats on the slippery horsehair sofa. So they offered Lincoln the Presidency of the United States, the burden of a divided nation.

". . . it is natural for you to bring your tribute to him"

After the last committeeman had filed out, Lincoln dropped down on his knees, spread his great brawny arms over the marble-topped table, and buried his head in his hands in prayer. Then, rising, he crossed the room and paused intently before a great wall map of the nation, and suddenly and tenderly threw his arms out to it as if to take its divided people and bring them together. The two gestures reveal two reasons for his greatness—the sense that he was moved by a power greater than himself and his ability to get himself out of the picture and ever keep a united nation there.

Among the many stories about him there is a typical story of Lincoln's philosophy of life. One night during the most crucial days of the Civil War he quietly stole out of the White House to walk around Washington alone, in escape from the strain of his responsibilities. Suddenly a young lad burst through a hedge which bordered the sidewalk and, crashing against the President's great legs, found himself sprawling on the ground. Indignantly he picked himself up and, facing that seeming mountain with whom he had collided, defiantly muttered, "Is it getting so that a Southern gentleman cannot walk the streets of Washington without being knocked down?" Lincoln reached down, put his hands on the lad's shoulders, and said, "My boy, the fellow who is getting in your way is inside of you."

IF Mohammedans make pilgrimages to Mecca to visit their shrines, and if in the old days the English used to make pilgrimages to Canterbury, certainly the Mecca of every American might well be the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. As you mount the long and impressive pile of marble steps and pass through the colonnade of pillars, you find your footsteps echoing on the pavement and feel yourself small beneath the vast vaulting. Suddenly the colossal figure of our most beloved native American looks down upon you, seeming to understand as he sits there that it is natural for you to bring your tribute to him. You may well feel moved to kneel as before a holy shrine, for the very magnitude of the figure by Daniel Chester French is perfectly appropriate to the magnitude of soul to be portrayed —a magnitude which stirs something of reverence and of awe. I will confess that, when I first saw that statue, for the moment the ages swept away and a certain primitive emotion akin to that of ancestor worship claimed my being. For everything our country at its best stands for seems to send out its living spirit from that shrine. There the ideals at the heart of this great nation keep on speaking for every man to hear that "the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth!"

Alden Wilson

The Transcript, Orrville 2-7-36

Wilson, Donald R.

Donald R. Wilson (right), American Legion national commander, makes Lincoln Day address inside chamber of Lincoln's Tomb at Springfield. With him are state Legion commander, Charles C. Shaw (left), and Gov. Stevenson. AP Wirephoto.

IDEALS LIVE ON

Pay Tribute To Wisdom Of Lincoln

The wisdom and virtue of Abraham Lincoln were recalled Tuesday as ceremonies across the northern part of the nation marked the 143d anniversary of his birth.

In Springfield, where his memory is kept green the year around, a series of pilgrimages to his tomb in Oak Ridge Cemetery were held in traditional fashion.

18TH ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE

National, state and Springfield leaders of the American Legion participated in the 18th annual Legion pilgrimage. They heard Gov. Stevenson say that Lincoln's concern for human rights "is equally vital to our national interest now."

"That the image of Lincoln remains so clear—indeed that it has grown clearer with the passing years," said the governor, "is an encouraging sign that the American people do correctly evaluate the great issues of our time."

Donald R. Wilson of Clarksburg, W.Va., national commander of the Legion, paid tribute "in the name of those who have fought in the nation's defense to him who made certain that we would have a nation to defend."

SEGREGATION ASSAILED

Sec. of the Interior Chapman, speaking before the Mid-Day Luncheon Club in Springfield, called on all Americans to live up to Lincoln's ideals by ending segregation in schools.

Lincoln scholars took part in ceremonies in Springfield arranged by the Abraham Lincoln Assn.

In Chicago, Richard J. Lyons, former state representative, said "the hope of the world today is the free men and women who have the will to create, the faith to build and the tenacity to preserve—which was the doctrine of the Great Emancipator."

He addressed an observance held by the Grand Army of the Republic Memorial Assn. of Cook County in the downtown library.

LINCOLN PARK CEREMONY

Scout Donald Robinson of Troop 25 read the Gettysburg Address at a ceremony held by the Boy Scouts at the Lincoln monument in Lincoln Park. A salute was fired by members of Lincoln Park Post of the Legion, and Steve Montalto of Scout Troop 40 sounded Taps.

Throughout Indiana, where Lincoln lived as a boy, school and public ceremonies honored his anniversary. In tiny Hodgenville, Ky., where he was born, about 1,500 persons, most of them from the neighboring countryside, paid tribute at a ceremony that included an address by the Rev. E. H. Ogles, Methodist pastor at Elizabethtown, Ky.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1952

Wilson, Bishop Luther R.

TOLD STUDENTS OF LINCOLN

Bishop Wilson Gives Strong Address in Houston Hall.

Bishop Luther B. Wilson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, addressed the University students at yesterday's service in Houston Hall. "Life's Relay Race" was his topic. Upward of 500 students attended, most of whom were presented to the speaker at an informal reception held after the service.

The approaching anniversary of Abraham Lincoln supplied the Bishop with an appropriate and forceful peroration. He spoke of a conversation he had had with the late Secretary Hay, in which the latter has enlarged on the subject of the life masks of Lincoln, made by St. Gaudens in 1860 and 1865. "Secretary Hay said that the mask taken before Lincoln's assassination, early in 1865, would certainly have been mistaken by a layman for a death-mask. Responsibilities and ceaseless controversies with Congress over the conduct of the war had seamed and furrowed the face into that of a man of 80. And yet, even in the cold plaster, the lines of force were not to be mistaken. The face was calm, resolute and withal one of the kindliest ever borne by mortal man.

"It is not alone his splendid achievements that commend Lincoln to the young man," was the Bishop's conclusion. "It is the splendid rugged character that he left as a monument to future generations. Lapidaried with all the affectionate care that a stonecutter would lavish on his favorite jewel, planed and finished with scrupulous nicety during a lifetime of turbulent but earnest endeavor, patterned after the very similitude of God, the character of Abraham Lincoln stands out in history, many faceted, like some brilliant, priceless gem."

ENGER

the Union.

Wilson, Dr. M. Lincoln

Dual Tribute Paid Lincoln, Roosevelt

Memorial tributes to two American war Presidents — Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Delano Roosevelt—were held yesterday in Ford Theater where Lincoln was fatally shot 80 years ago.

The coincidence of Lincoln's assassination and Roosevelt's burial falling on the same date 80 years later was recognized by speakers who described them both as "men who served their Nation in time of crisis and emerged victorious despite their handicaps—Lincoln's over a fight for education and Roosevelt's over a fight for health."

Lincoln Watch Presented

First in the tribute to Lincoln came the gift of a gold watch from a little old lady whose father was a close companion of the Civil War President. Mrs. Xavier Teillard, 86, a white-haired woman dressed in lavender and black satin, presented the watch given her father by Lincoln to Dr. Stewart W. McClelland, president of Lincoln Memorial University, who was principal speaker at the service.

Dr. M. Lincoln Wilson, director of Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, reminded the 300 persons attending the memorial service: "Eighty years ago our grandfathers were shocked by the news of Lincoln's assassination. Today we are shocked by the news of the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Similarities were striking between the two men despite the fact that one came from a log cabin and the other from an affluent family."

Representative James W. Wadsworth (R., N. Y.) said in introducing Dr. McClelland: "Despite the fact that Lincoln passed away 80 years ago, scholars are still searching for facts about him. One of the foremost of these scholars has been our principal speaker today."

Dr. McClelland reviewed the life of Lincoln from his humble beginning to his zenith as President of the United States, declaring "the great absorbing interest in Abraham Lincoln springs from the fact that he was like the common man. The history of Lincoln is the history of America."

He spoke of the Nation's great loss in Franklin Delano Roosevelt, reminding his audience that the closing sentences of Lincoln's Gettysburg address applies to both men:

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from

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